

GUARDIANS OF EMPIRE: HYGIENE, MODERNIZATION, AND FEMALE
EDUCATION IN THE LANDSCAPE OF COLONIAL
MANCHURIA

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how Japanese state planners and educators envisioned the relationship between gender, space, class, and hygiene in colonial Manchuria between 1900 and 1938. It examines Japanese colonists' view of northeast China as a diseased, uncivilized frontier. This belief helped the Japanese justify their presence in Manchuria; it also created anxieties about the colonists' ability to control and shape the unhygienic Manchurian land and live in close proximity with other ethnic groups without becoming infected and uncivilized themselves.

In order to explore the logic behind planning efforts in colonial cities, this study considers how the view of Manchuria as a desolate, diseased land impacted the development of Dairen. It argues planners sought to create modern, quarantined spaces to mitigate the adverse impact of the environment on Japanese bodies. The Japanese colonial government created spaces in colonial cities where middle and upper class men and women could enjoy the benefits of hygienic modernity, but these spaces were not accessible to poor individuals or other ethnic groups. This thesis further argues that though state planners imagined the public, bourgeois areas of colonial cities in southern Manchuria as primarily masculine spaces, Japanese women's public presence was also an essential component in the landscape of the modern city.

Finally, this thesis examines the significance of the home in colonial Manchuria

through the lens of textbooks written for Japanese schoolgirls. The texts taught the girls to maintain urban, scientifically managed, bourgeois homes through hygienic practices. The girls ideally learned to insulate themselves and their family members from the corrupting Manchurian environment by taking meticulous care of their homes and protecting the minds and bodies of all Japanese individuals under their roofs. Textbook writers expected middle class Japanese women residing in Manchuria to serve as the guardians of the home as well as the gatekeepers between primitive and modern, dirty and hygienic, lower class and upper class. Thus, the state expected women to make the home a space where empire could be built, maintained, and propagated.

To my husband Curtis, who has served as a somewhat willing participant in our household's regime of hygiene for the past three years.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

While recollecting her childhood in Manchuria, former Japanese colonist Kazuko Kuramoto wrote, “To us, to me, Dairen was Japan – not an extension of Japan, but the representation of its power, the symbol of its international supremacy.”¹ Kuramoto felt ownership over this colonial city, which she saw as a natural extension of Japan and a representation of Japan’s power as a modern colonial nation. However, other Japanese settlers in south Manchuria did not feel so at home in this environment. In a 1922 booklet, M. Tsurumi, superintendent of the South Manchuria Railway’s Sanitary Office, painted a grim image of the area. He wrote that the Japanese inhabitants of Manchuria appeared “hemmed in on all sides” by disease.² Japanese colonialism in south Manchuria thus presented settlers with a series of contradictions. Manchuria signified a fundamentally unhealthy land as well as an area of endless possibilities for agriculture, resource extraction, and expansive hygienic modernity projects not achievable in the metropole. Opposing discourses combined to construct Manchuria as primitive and

¹ Kazuko Kuramoto, *Manchurian Legacy: Memoirs of a Japanese Colonist* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 22. Kuramoto was a third-generation colonist. She was born in Dairen in 1927 and spent the majority of her childhood in the city.

² M. Tsurumi, *A Glimpse of Public Hygiene in South Manchuria* (Dairen: South Manchuria Railway, 1922), 5.

modern, a homeland and an irrevocably foreign space. Manchuria also represented a land of opportunities for Japanese women in Dairen since they constituted an integral part of the modern space of the city, yet educational textbooks demonstrate that outside a few circumstances, women's presence in the colonial work field was contested. Textbooks for elementary schoolgirls in Japanese schools created an idealized image of colonial female domesticity and encouraged students to fulfill their prescribed roles as housewives and mothers. While education for Japanese schoolgirls seemed to position women as solely repositories of tradition, in actuality the texts demonstrate that educators also expected female settlers to be modern. Textbook writers' emphasis on middle class sensibilities, hygiene, and efficiency in the home show they expected female settlers to manage Japanese households using both traditional and modern methods. Though these methods on occasion presented contradictory logic, both traditional and modern ideas of female household management worked conjointly to position women as the guardians of Japanese bodies, and by extension, propagators of empire.

Historiography

This thesis responds to important scholarship in the fields of imperialism, gender, and colonial hygiene. It was greatly influenced by Ruth Rogaski's book *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease In Treaty-Port China*, which studies the interaction between colonial treaty ports and biomedicine. She demonstrates that colonizers and local elites created multilayered discourses and practices concerning

“hygienic modernity” in the service of imperialism.³ This thesis builds upon Rogaski’s work by examining the notions of health and hygiene that shaped Japan’s colonial endeavors in Manchuria, arguing that various colonial players (including textbook writers, SMR leaders, and official SMR photographers) helped create and disseminate hygienic discourses that constructed the colonizers as modern and hygienic and the colonized as unclean and primitive.

Of equal importance to this study was Warwick Anderson’s research on the intersection between Western medicine and race in *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines*. Anderson examines how America’s civilizing mission merged with modern understandings of hygiene and sanitation. He demonstrates that for colonial officials, sanitizing the native populace (which was racialized as fundamentally unhygienic) represented the first step toward transforming the locals into modern, middle class, virtuous citizens.⁴ This thesis incorporates Anderson’s approach by revealing how Japanese leaders sought to sanitize both the colonized and the lower class colonizers, arguing colonial educators strove to decontaminate the lower class Japanese and transform them into model middle class Japanese citizens.

Scholars have increasingly studied the intersection between imperial hygiene and the regulation of gender and sex. Historians who work in this fertile field of inquiry, especially Sabine Fruhstuck and Park Jin-Kyung, were instrumental to the development of this thesis. Fruhstuck’s *Colonizing Sex* examines how fears of venereal disease led to

³ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

⁴ Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

hygiene regulations and surveillance that impacted both male military members (who, as males, helped make up the “body” of the state) and prostitutes (both within and outside of the Japanese archipelago). She argues that as Japan became a modern state, the body became a site that represented the juncture of “the nation, modernity, and progress,”⁵ which led officials to find it necessary to colonize sex.

Jin-kyung Park’s article “Bodies for Empire: Biopolitics, Reproduction, and Sexual Knowledge in Late Colonial Korea” examines the connections between biomedicine, gender, and colonialism by studying how women’s diseases began to be perceived as threats to the health of the Korean race.⁶ She contends that doctors aided empire-building efforts by helping create regimes of social hygiene that monitored the health and reproductive abilities of Korean women. Both of these works influenced this thesis, which studies how colonial leaders constructed women’s bodies, particularly the bodies of future Japanese wives and mothers, as objects that could be surveyed, monitored, and reformed through hygienic practices. The thesis takes a different track than these two works by paying particular attention to how hygiene became gendered through educational discourse that positioned hygiene as a technology of colonial power.

Finally, the thesis examines how text writers constructed the ideal woman as a practitioner of imperial hygiene and housekeeping as an application of hygiene. This thesis will fill a gap in current scholarship; rather than solely examining how government officials and official policies influenced beliefs about hygiene and race, it shows how educational materials produced for Japanese and Western audiences within Manchuria

⁵ Sabine Fruhstuck, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 3.

⁶ Jin Kyung Park, “Bodies for Empire: Biopolitics, Reproduction, and Sexual Knowledge in Late Colonial Korea,” *Korean Journal of Medical History* 23, no. 2 (1970): 203-38.

contributed to imperialism. This research, like Park's article, thus contributes to a larger body of scholarship that seeks to demonstrate the Japanese state was not the sole constructor of empire. Rather, leaders who operated amongst diverse colonial groups (including educators, photographers, and officials of hygiene) built, maintained, and propagated Japan's colonies, as suggested by Jun Uchida in her work *Brokers of Empire*.

Summary

In order to study the impact of modernity and hygienic regimes on Japanese women, this thesis first explores why hygiene became an all-consuming passion for many Japanese scientists, administrators, and observers from the metropole. The second chapter thus examines the connection between the commencement of Japanese rule in south Manchuria and the Great Manchurian Plague. It argues that the plague, along with preexisting Japanese discourses about health and climate, caused elite Japanese to view Manchuria, especially the northern and rural areas of the region, as diseased and primitive. To illustrate the discourse surrounding Manchuria, this chapter utilizes materials produced by governmental and quasigovernmental organizations (such as the SMR), including textbooks and SMR promotional videos and manuals. It studies how views of the environment as unhygienic increased colonial anxieties, which led Japanese leaders to place the burden of safeguarding Japanese bodies on female settlers.

Chapter 3 moves to a discussion of modernization and urban planning in Dairen, the entry point of Japanese imperialism in northeast China, during the middle period of Japanese colonization in Manchuria (from the 1910s to the late 1920s). By bringing

together several discursively related sources, including English language SMR video footage, photos, and advertisements, this chapter investigates Dairen elites' quest to cope with the unhygienic environment by constructing a modern, hygienic city. It also examines the racial landscape of this city, demonstrating that Japanese elites built structures and instituted policies designed to keep the Manchurian land and people at a distance. Furthermore, the chapter studies Japanese women's place in the modern scenery of the city, using sources such as memoir material, photos, and demographic information to show that women's presence in public spaces marked Japan as both modern and traditional. It ends with an examination of the education of boys and girls in the space of Dairen, arguing educators strove to instill a sense of pride and ownership over this modern, hygienic city in the future generations of colonizers.

Finally, Chapter 4 offers a more intimate look at the lives of Japanese women in the middle to middle-late period of colonialism in Manchuria. It provides a detailed analysis of three textbooks published in Dairen for Japanese schoolgirls written in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the period immediately before Japan installed the puppet government of Manchukuo. The chapter primarily uses an "along the archival grain" analysis, treating the textbooks as "sites of the expectant and conjured [and as] dreams of comforting futures and forebodings of future failures."⁷ Therefore, it studies the underlining colonial logic and anxieties inherent in these texts while exploring their impact on Japanese women. Utilizing a similar approach to Anderson's work about American colonization in the Philippines, it examines how the logic of Japanese colonialism became discernable "in a technical discourse on bodily practice, mundane

⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1.

contact, and the banalities of custom and habit” throughout the prescriptive texts.⁸ It argues that as textbook writers constructed the space of the home as the last line of defense against moral and physical disease and degradation in the environment, they racialized non-Japanese bodies as contagions. At the same time, the chapter also uses an “against the grain” reading approach, paying attention to the contradictions, counterfactual situations, and silences inherent in the textbooks, which shows that the authors presented a fictionalized vision of the Japanese home. This approach also reveals the tensions and contradictions between class and race throughout the texts. Finally, the chapter explores how the gendered language that positioned women as the central protectors of the Japanese home and guardians of vulnerable Japanese bodies created contradictory yet complementary expectations for these women.

⁸ Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 2.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRUCTING AN UNHYGIENIC FRONTIER: CLIMATE, DISEASE, AND JAPANESE SETTLEMENT IN MANCHURIA

On February 8, 1904, Japan declared war on Russia after attacking the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. By September 5, 1905, Japan had affirmed its presence in south Manchuria and Korea. After two bloody battles, the Japanese controlled the Liaodong Peninsula, which included Port Arthur and railways connecting south Manchuria to the rest of the region, with international approval.⁹ The triumph and acquisition of the Liaodong Peninsula finally gave the military a base on the continent, which had been Japan's goal since the Sino-Japanese War.¹⁰

Victory in south Manchuria opened many economic possibilities for the Japanese since the region contained abundant natural resources, including coal and timber, along with vast areas suitable for agriculture. In fact, Western observers noted Manchuria's similarity to the American West and dubbed the area the "Ruhr of the East" and the

⁹ "The Treaty of Portsmouth and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905," Office of the Historian, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/portsmouth-treaty>

¹⁰ As a result of their victory in 1905, Japan also gained possession of the southern part of Sakhalin. See Michele M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee, *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 10.

“granary of East Asia.”¹¹ Japan formed the South Manchuria Railway Company in 1906, a semiautonomous organization, to exploit the area’s rich resources.¹² Manchuria thus served as an area of prosperity as well as an agricultural utopia in popular imagination.

However, visions of Manchuria as a land of virgin forests, limitless resources, and fields of fertile soil competed with perceptions of the region as primitive and diseased. Descriptions of Manchurian residents’ susceptibility to infectious illnesses permeated medical reports, textbooks, and SMR promotional books. What information can we draw from these dual views of the Manchurian environment? How did the Japanese perception of Manchuria as unhygienic, which developed from reports and firsthand experience with diseases, impact settlers?

In this chapter, I explore these questions by examining how discourse centering on climate, disease, and hygiene influenced colonial perceptions and practices in southern Manchuria. In particular, I explore perceptions about the Manchurian environment’s impact on Japanese bodies. I argue that the Japanese view of northeast China as a diseased, uncivilized frontier helped justify Japan’s presence in the region. However, these beliefs also created anxieties about the colonists’ ability to shape the unhygienic Manchurian land and people without becoming infected themselves. As a result of these anxieties, Japanese officials and educators placed the onus of protecting Japanese bodies from the diseased rural environment on individual settlers, particularly Japanese women.

¹¹ William C. Summers, *The Great Manchurian Plague of 1910-1911: The Geopolitics of an Epidemic Disease* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 26.

¹² The SMR developed numerous industries, including Anshan Iron and Steel Works, plants to refine sugar and mill flour, and a machine workshop. The company also made hefty profits by shipping soybeans via rail. See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 32.

Environmental Determinism and Japanese Imperialism

Justification for Japanese expansion took on environmental determinist overtones long before Japan gained a foothold in continental Asia. During the Tokugawa era, views of a Confucian world order influenced ideas about civilization and barbarism. According to this order, “barbarian, or at best imperfectly civilized, peripheries” surrounded a civilized center. Naturally, Japan served as the focus of this model and its peripheries, including Ezo (Hokkaido) and the Ryukyu kingdom (Okinawa), contained barbarous individuals.¹³ Thus, Japanese people positioned themselves as the geographical focus of all culture, while those born outside the main Japanese islands remained uncivilized.

Some Tokugawa “Dutch learning” scholars also used Western science to support their view that Japan served as the geographical epicenter of civilization. For example, Satō Nobuhiro, a Tokugawa intellectual whose ideas later influenced Japan’s 1940 pronouncement of a “Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere,” claimed geography made the Japanese a superior people. He wrote that because of Japan’s specific latitude and longitude, the island had fertile soil and abundant harvests. Furthermore, he claimed Japan’s people, “living on sacred land, [were] superior, excelling those of other countries for bravery and resoluteness.” He wrote, “In truth they [the Japanese people] are fully capable of holding the reins of the world.”¹⁴ These theories, which were based on the notion that climate determined culture, linked Japan’s environment to the Japanese people’s development into a “superior people” and helped plant the seeds for colonial expansion by arguing the Japanese had an innate ability to hold “the reins of the world.”

¹³ David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth Century Japan* (University of California Press, 2005), 131.

¹⁴ Satō Nobuhiro, “Confidential Plan of World Unification,” in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: Volume 2, 1600-2000* ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary et. al (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 614.

The link between Japanese superiority and the environment, however, presented a problem for Japanese citizens who settled in areas outside of the Japanese mainland. If Japanese citizens lived in areas with different climates, how long could they hope to remain superior to others? If citizens lived too long in a foreign land, could they maintain essential components of Japanese character such as “bravery and resoluteness”? Satō’s type of environmental determinist discourse warranted colonial expansion, but it also helped create anxieties amongst Japanese settlers.

A Utopian Frontier

Other writers contributed to the rhetoric about climate and native groups by contradictorily portraying northern climates as desolate wastelands empty of civilization and agrarian utopias. Hokkaido in particular inspired this sort of rhetoric during the Meiji era. Michelle Mason argues the Japanese commonly envisioned Hokkaido as “an empty canvas,” which allowed them to draw their clashing desires upon the area. She wrote, “[Hokkaido] was at once a natural part of the Japanese archipelago and a remote, alien land; a promise-filled frontier and an outpost of punishing prisons; a fount of untouched natural resources and an empty wasteland of snow and ice.”¹⁵ Though Japanese individuals perceived Hokkaido as an “empty wasteland,” they still thought it was a desirable place for Japanese settlers because of its virgin soil.¹⁶ Mason also noted literary figures made the land suitable for the Japanese by failing to mention the Ainu, Hokkaido’s native inhabitants. This served to erase the Ainu from the landscape and

¹⁵ Michele Mason, *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2.

¹⁶ Ibid.

justify colonialism by claiming the Japanese could occupy and properly utilize this empty space.¹⁷

Texts and images concerning Manchuria also provided contradictory images of the region. Children's textbooks highlighted the area's extreme temperature differences, explaining that the punishing winter and spring winds adversely affect the health of Japanese settlers. Materials created by the SMR stressed the differences between the Japanese and Manchurian climate, yet they also showed the area's rich natural resources and vast spaces emptied of other ethnic groups. For example, a 1930s English-language advertisement film about SMR activities in Manchuria provides images of coalmines, timber factories, and empty, rolling plains. The narrator of the film mentioned Manchuria's extreme climate changes, but he did so while discussing how this climate is ideal for agricultural production.¹⁸ Images of Manchuria as a desolate frontier thus worked in various ways; they reinforced settlers' concerns by portraying Manchuria as hostile but also depicted the area as an unpopulated, resource-rich utopia ready for Japanese development.

Becoming a Plague Land

Organizations such as the SMR had to promote the beneficial aspects of the Manchurian environment in order to combat images of the region as riddled with disease.

¹⁷ Michele Mason, "Writing Ainu Out/Writing Japanese In: The 'Nature' of Japanese Colonialism in Hokkaido," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, eds. Michele M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee (Stanford University Press, 2012), 39-41.

¹⁸ *Manchukuo: The Newborn Empire*, Beaux Art Productions, 1930s ca, https://archive.org/details/6108_Manchukuo_The_Newborn_Empire_01_47_55_20.

This deeply ingrained view of Manchuria developed shortly after the Japanese won the rights to the Liaodong Peninsula. In 1910, a plague outbreak occurred in Manchouli, a Russian-controlled area near the Siberian border. Plague was a relatively common infectious disease in this area; in fact, locals living along the Amur River expected yearly outbreaks.¹⁹ However, this plague did not remain contained in villages. The vast railroad network that transported people and goods across the region also served as a vector for the disease. Plague cases soon occurred in the Russian-occupied city of Harbin, leaving 5,272 dead. The disease reached the Japanese-controlled area of Mukden on January 2, 1911, resulting in 2,571 deaths. The majority of the cases occurred in railway zones; therefore, the infection rates were extremely high in the zones and greatly threatened the Japanese military and civilian settlements, which were primarily clustered along the rail lines.²⁰ Plague continued to be a widespread problem in the following decades. Between 1920 and 1944, numerous infections struck Manchuria, and each outbreak claimed between one hundred to several thousand lives.²¹

Ruth Rogawski notes this epidemic occurred at a critical time in Manchurian history since it happened during the first decade of Japan's ventures in south Manchuria.²² Furthermore, William Summers' work suggests other important factors in the development of perceptions of plague in Manchuria included the use of modern Western medical science, including germ theory and the discovery of the plague bacillus

¹⁹ In 1901-1902, Russian-controlled areas of North Manchuria reported 114 plague deaths. By 1905, contained plague outbreaks occurred in areas near the western region of the (Russian-run) Chinese Eastern Railway. See Summers, *Great Manchurian Plague*, 9.

²⁰ Ibid., 19.

²¹ Ruth Rogaski, "Vampires in Plagueland: The Multiple Meanings of *Weisheng* in Manchuria," in *Health and Hygiene in Chinese East Asia*, eds. Angela Leung and Charlotte Furth (Duke University Press, 2010), Kindle edition.

²² Ibid.

in Hong Kong in 1894.²³ These factors led researchers to view Manchuria as a germ-infested, primitive site that Western-educated scientists used as a playground to test new theories about illnesses, resulting in the creation of Manchuria as a “plague land” in Japanese imagination. As Rogawski argues, elite Japanese portrayed Manchuria as “a singularly diseased environment, a place whose very terrain seemed replete with the seeds of contagion.”²⁴ Japanese settlers could not feel comfortable in this foreign environment. Their rhetoric thus indicates anxieties about Japanese bodies in an unhygienic, primitive, and diseased land and led colonial administrators to produce separate spaces for Japanese settlers. Since the colonizers could not use the common containment model connected to germ theory and isolate all of the disease present in the Manchurian environment, colonial leaders created inverse quarantine zones. These zones created a buffer area that sought to sequester hygienic Japanese bodies in constructed areas somewhat protected from the Manchurian environment.

Seeking Protection in an Unhygienic Frontier Land

Unhygienic environments not only signified a threat in Manchuria; other colonial powers also believed “primitive” environments would threaten foreign bodies. Lenore Manderson, a historian who researched British colonial medicine in Singapore and Malaysia, argues colonial cities signified bounded, protected spaces. She writes that cities and towns represented “the most domesticated space, contrasting with the untamed,

²³ Summers, *Great Manchurian Plague*, 4-8. The French scientist Alexandre Yersin and Japanese scientist Kitasato Shibasaburō were credited as the co-discoverers of the bacillus responsible for the plague, but Summers notes that Yersin managed to isolate the true plague bacterium from buboes while Kitasato mistakenly thought he could isolate the bacterium from the blood of victims.

²⁴ Rogaski, “Vampires in Plagueland.”

unpenetrated hinterland and the diseases that it harbored.”²⁵ Manderson notes that colonial governments’ fixation on hygiene and sanitation in colonial cities reflected colonists’ concerns about creating a space where they could control both the people and the environment. The presence of disease and the necessity of human contact with both the natural and “built” landscapes demonstrated the colonists’ inability to establish perfect control over a territory, creating apprehensions.²⁶

Colonial administrators in Manchuria expressed similar concerns over their failure to keep the diseased hinterland at bay in cities. A 1922 English-language promotional book (intended for Western audiences) produced by the South Manchuria Railway provides an example of the continuing fears behind the hygienic regimens in Manchurian cities. The book, titled *A Glimpse of Public Hygiene in South Manchuria*, suggests Japan’s hygienic institutions in Manchuria faced great pressure because the area connoted primitiveness. M. Tsurumi wrote, “The lower the stage of progress of a country, the more keenly this indispensability [of hygienic institutions] seems all the more accentuated because of there being a larger number of diseases, especially dread epidemics and also endemics which are not yet known.” As the introduction discusses, Tsurumi believed inhabitants in this environment were “always menaced by these diseases,” which threatened the lives of the settlers. “In fact, an epidemic of one kind or another is ravaging the country all the year round, and we appear hemmed in on all sides with all kinds of disease germs,” he said.²⁷ Thus, the Japanese engaged in a constant

²⁵ Lenore Manderson, *Sickness and the State: Health and Illness in Colonial Malaya, 1870-1940* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities* (New York: South Manchuria Railway, 1922), 5, <https://ia801406.us.archive.org/8/items/manchurialand00soutuoft/manchurialand00soutuoft.pdf5>

struggle against the Manchurian environment, striving to keep menacing diseases at bay.

According to Robert John Perrins, Japanese governors in Manchuria dealt with their fears of being encircled by disease by creating agencies that worked to implement public health policies. These agencies passed and enforced laws regarding mandatory vaccinations, “night soil” collection, water monitoring, restaurant health codes, and health curriculum for schools run by the government in the 1910s and early 1920s.²⁸ The South Manchuria Railway assisted with these endeavors in Dairen by managing much of the development of the city, handling a medical laboratory, and monitoring the local water. During the first 20 years of Japanese colonial rule in southern Manchuria, the Guandong government worked in conjunction with local authorities to monitor, inspect, and record instances of health policy violations in urban businesses and neighborhoods.²⁹

Tsurumi ensured his Western audience knew that the Japanese took extensive measures to control contagion in systematic ways. He explained the complex system of administration, noting that the railway company controlled hygiene, educational organizations, and public works systems in the South Manchuria Railway Area while the Guandong Government administered all matters outside the zone. This meant the both the Guandong Government and SMR shared responsibility for hygienic systems in southern Manchuria.³⁰ He stressed the company and government’s desire to thoroughly investigate

²⁸ Robert John Perrins, “Doctors, Disease, and Development: Engineering Colonial Public Health in Southern Manchuria, 1905-1926,” in *Building a Modern Japan: Science, Technology and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond*, ed. Morris Low (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 114.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁰ Tsurumi, *Glimpse of Public Hygiene*, 2. Tsurumi implies the Guandong Government and SMR were separate entities in order to lead Western audiences to believe Japan was not exercising colonial administration when in fact the agencies were part of a complex system of colonial governance. The leasehold was under military authority in 1905, which transferred to civilian leadership in 1906 by imperial rescript. According to the imperial ordinance, the civilian government’s main powers included overseeing the South Manchuria Railway Company, promulgating government order,

and eradicate causes of disease, implying that the Japanese hygienic systems in Manchuria still needed reorganization to be as successful as the institutions in the United States and European countries, “most conspicuously” in Germany.³¹ Tsurumi presumably emphasized Germany’s hygienic institutions because Japan based many of its own hygienic reforms on German models during the early Meiji period.³² Therefore, Japanese hygienic institutions had a direct link to the West (and Germany in particular), which supported the image of Japan as a modern nation.

Hygienic Institutions and Colonial Legitimacy

Tsurumi had an important stake in highlighting the contrast between the hygienic systems of the West and Manchuria in order to provide legitimacy to the Japanese colonial project. He indicated that since Manchuria’s hygienic structures were inferior to the West’s (and Japan’s) systems, Japanese administrators could provide this area with their expertise, and therefore civilize and modernize Manchuria. For example, Tsurumi noted that a country’s public hygiene system reflected “the stage of progress of that

providing police protection in the railway zone and throughout the leasehold, and collecting punitive fines. Tokyo also established a consulate-general in Fengtian in 1906, adding to the complexity of Manchurian governance. For example, the consular police force and Guandong police force were both responsible for protecting the Railway Zone’s rail lines, leading to clashes between the agencies. The military also did not permanently relinquish control of the area; in the leasehold, the Guandong garrison, which was funded and commanded by Tokyo’s Army Ministry, shared police duties with the government-general. See Emer O’Dwyer, *Significant Soil: Settler Colonialism and Japan’s Urban Empire in Manchuria*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 377 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 7.

³¹ Tsurumi, *Glimpse of Public Hygiene*, 4.

³² Nagayo Sensai was most impressed by Germany’s medical reforms. According to Rogaski, he was inspired to form “a single but comprehensive administrative department” dedicated to preserving the health of the nation through encompassing “all facets of life...that could possibly endanger human existence” after visiting Germany. See Ruth Rogaski, “Transforming Eisei in Meiji Japan,” in *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 141-144.

country.” He continued,

It may be said without exaggeration that the enlightenment of a country stands proportionate to how near perfection its public hygiene system is... Instances in which this paramount consideration was more or less neglected and in which this brought the colonial venture to pieces have been many and need no special reiteration.

The “genius” of a colonizing policy, according to Tsurumi, depended upon constructing a public hygiene operation “as its herald or forerunner.”³³ Thus, Tsurumi believed creating a hygienic environment was the first, and most vital, undertaking for Japanese administrators in Dairen. Tsurumi’s views are understandable since Japanese government officials prioritized instituting a hygienic system early in Japan’s modernization process. In fact, Nagayo Sensai, a physician and statesman who established a bureau of health in 1875, realized that hygiene signified a key component of modernity during the Iwakura mission. The bureau intervened in the lives of Japanese citizens to an unprecedented extent; it engaged in an extensive project of scientific modernity, often using force to make Japanese citizens adapt to new hygienic regimes.³⁴ Therefore, the Japanese knew hygienic regimes were part and parcel of scientific colonialism and had practiced scientific colonialism through these regimes inside and outside Japan.

Tsurumi also indicated the Japanese had observed instances of colonial rule where lack of hygienic systems “brought the colonial venture to pieces.” Since Japan became a developed nation rather late (in terms of industrialization), administrators had the advantage of investigating the successes and pitfalls of other countries’ endeavors to

³³ Tsurumi, *Glimpse of Public Hygiene*, 1.

³⁴ Rogaski, “Transforming Eisei,” 151-152. After a cholera outbreak in 1877, sanitary police targeted the poorer sections of Tokyo. They contained cholera victims in isolation hospitals, enforced quarantines of the infected individuals’ family members (and rounded up those who tried to escape), disinfected houses, and burnt the cholera victims’ corpses. Since the sick rarely returned from isolation hospitals, rumors about blood-draining doctors spread, leading to destructive riots. Military police ended these riots.

transform societies through medical science and technology. For example, Gotō Shinpei, who served as Chief Medical Administrator in Taiwan as well as the first director of the South Manchuria Railway Company, completed an extensive study of hygienic systems in Japan, Europe (particularly Prussia), and the United States, finding that a modified Prussian model worked best for Japan and its colonies.³⁵ Tsurumi's rhetoric thus connects the Japanese imperial mission in Manchuria to Western biopolitical modernization and colonial ventures, demonstrating that the Japanese shared other modern nations' drive to conquer lands for economic gain and knew the best way to do so through learning from Western medical projects.

The book also shows Japanese colonial endeavors were more fragile than Western projects in certain regards. Japan, like Western imperial powers, claimed to uplift the non-Japanese inhabitants of its territories because its people brought a superior form of civilization. Imperial powers had to constantly defend this claim to supremacy, drawing lines between the colonizers and colonized and striving to prevent the settler colonists from assimilating to local cultures. However, as an Asian country colonizing another Asian nation, Japanese administrators could not strictly rely on racial hierarchy to create difference. To compensate for this difficulty, Japanese colonial rhetoric centered on

³⁵ In 1891, Shinpei wrote a thesis comparing hygienic systems titled 'Vergleichende Darstellung der Medizinalpolizei und Medizinalverwaltung in Japan und anderen Staaten' ['A Comparative Study of Medical Police and Medical Administration in Japan and Other States']. He decided the Prussian model of a centrally commanded medical police force with appropriated local self-administrated groups worked the best for Japanese culture. Shinpei's draw to this system was unsurprising because the Meiji government was also based on the Prussian models – in other words, the elites had favored constitutional monarchies with an active ruler and strongly-centralized government. Despite Gotō's admiration of the Prussian medical system, he was critical of some aspects of the system because of the separation of the government's administrative and juridical powers and wrote that Japan's strong central executive powers worked better with central/local group cooptation model. Shinpei instituted this system of strong medical police combined with co-opted locally administrated hygienic groups in both Taiwan and the Manchurian leasehold. See Christos Lynteris, "From Prussia to China: Japanese Colonial Medicine and Gotō Shinpei's Combination of Medical Police and Local Self-Administration," *Medical History* 55, no. 3 (2011), doi:10.1017/s0025727300005378.

cultural differences, describing other Asian groups as primitive and dirty. With the emergence of germ theory, medical knowledge combined with older discourses that created distinctions between the residents of the metropole and peripheries. This medical knowledge functioned as a tool to construct colonial powers as modern, hygienic, and advanced in contrast to primitive, dirty colonies. If Japanese administrators could not institute a successful hygienic regime, which gave them tools to create distinctions between themselves and the colonized, they jeopardized colonial justifications. Moreover, the perception of an area as unhygienic and the real risk of disease increased the anxieties of settlers, especially in areas viewed as disease-ridden. Thus, Tsurumi's contention that neglecting hygienic institutions signaled the ruin of colonial undertakings reveals both Japan's uncertain position in the Manchurian plague land as well as Tsurumi's wish for Western powers to see Japan as an equal civilizing player on the imperial field.

Outside the Colonial Enclave

Despite administrators' continuous anxieties about living in a diseased environment, cities represented safer areas. However, many Japanese settlers living outside the protective urban environment could not reap the benefits of a modern city with institutionalized hygiene, especially since the government established policies promoting rural immigration to Manchuria after seizing unofficial government control of the region in 1932.³⁶ How could settlers cope with the diseased environment in areas that

³⁶ Mori, "Colonies and Countryside in Wartime Japan." The government sought to curb rural unrest, exacerbated by the Depression and surplus populations in villages, by promoting emigration. The

lacked the benefits of Manchuria's colonial cities? Immigration associations tried to mitigate fears about the Manchurian climate and illness as part of their quest to promote a rural exodus from Japan. A 1932 book printed by the Japanese Colonization Society includes the following passage:

It is said that Manchuria has hot summers and cold winters... However, seeing that many people live there, it is by no means uninhabitable. Seeing that people live in swamp and mountainous lands, areas falling directly under the equator, and areas several tens of degrees below zero, no areas are uninhabitable for Japanese people. They grow accustomed to [these areas] and unexpectedly deal with cold and hot weather well, so there is no reason to worry so much.³⁷

The society's efforts to point out that people could live in various climates indicate some Japanese people had anxieties concerning the Manchurian climate. Their assurances that Japanese bodies could acclimatize to Manchuria's hot and cold seasons, along with their explicit attempts to assuage their readers' concerns, demonstrate that despite the relatively large number of Japanese settlers in Manchuria, rhetoric about Manchuria's extreme climate changes continued to negatively impact perceptions of this area.

The colonization society drew upon utopian imagery, painting Manchuria as a space of agrarian and economic opportunity. Writers of the society's texts also attempted to bolster future immigrants' perception of the region by minimizing the threats of illnesses. They wrote that though Japanese people living in Manchuria suffered from many diseases, well-equipped treatment facilities had reduced the mortality rate. The text added that Manchurian hospitals, particularly the fully equipped Dairen hospital,

1936 emigration policy also discussed the necessity of Japanese settlers' presence in northern Manchuria for security and economic independence purposes. The government had an ambitious vision to resettle 20 percent of Japanese households in Manchuria, but this goal never became a reality. In 1945, only 320,000 Japanese had emigrated to Manchuria.

³⁷ *Emigration Course Volume I: A Guide to Manchuria and Mongolia* [移民講座 第1巻 満蒙案内] (Japanese Colonization Society, 1932), 123, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1446835/123?viewMode=>.

represented “the best in the Orient.” They continued, “If you go to Manchuria and suffer from illnesses, there is no need to worry. It becomes possible to be greatly relieved.”³⁸ The colonization society could highlight Dairen’s progress, but they still fought against Japanese perceptions of Manchuria as a diseased space. Furthermore, the textbook catered to lower class Japanese people who would most likely not settle in Dairen, meaning they would not have easy access to Dairen’s first-rate medical facilities. The society’s reassurances could thus be seen as counterproductive for their audience. Their rhetoric reveals that despite modern development in cities such as Dairen, Manchuria remained a plagued frontier land in the Japanese imagination.

Living in a Diseased Frontier Land

Educational primers certainly did not lessen the anxieties of settlers living outside major urban centers. For example, a primer titled “Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook,” which educators published in 1927 for schoolgirls, included numerous warnings about the Manchurian environment as well as instructions for guarding Japanese citizens against the ravages of disease. A section titled “Hygiene and the Four Seasons” detailed the seasonal dangers of dirt and contagion in Manchuria. The authors cautioned their readers that strong winds during the Manchurian spring would carry dirt and garbage, which could injure people’s eyes and respiratory tracts. They wrote that dirt could make its way into the house and instructed their readers to “be prepared to protect [yourself] against dirt and refuse” whether inside or outside the

³⁸ Ibid.

home.³⁹ Throughout the section about Manchuria's spring weather, the authors constructed Manchuria as a fundamentally dirty place. Japanese girls could find no safety in this environment; whether at home or in the outdoors, dirt presented a constant danger for Japanese bodies.

Though spring weather contained great danger, the authors believed Manchurian summers and autumns presented far more serious perils to settlers. They cautioned that elderly and young people's stomach and intestines could be adversely affected by the soaring summer temperatures and added "diseases such as cholera and dysentery [were] prevalent around this season." Furthermore, the authors wrote, "In the summer, you must be cautious about food and drink, drive away flies, and leave the inside and outside of the house clean."⁴⁰ This section shares similarities with European and American discourses on tropical medicine. Like British conceptions of Bengal, Manchuria became "home" to diseases such as cholera and dysentery.⁴¹ During the summer months, Manchuria became a disease-riddled land, an overly warm zone where germs could breed, spread, and harm the colonists, especially the elderly and the young. However, the authors provided hope that girls and women could guard themselves and their vulnerable family members from the impact of diseases by maintaining hygienic conditions within the home. The section implied if the readers followed the authors' directions, the Japanese home could serve as a final bulwark against germs. Though the Japanese home was presumably more susceptible to contagion in the countryside than in the semi shielded areas of the colonial

³⁹ "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook: For the Use of First-Year Higher Elementary Students, Part I [Manshū Shōgakkō Kaji Kyōkasho: Kōtōshōgaku Dai Ichi Gakunen]," in *Zai-man Nihonjin-yō Kyōkasho Shūsei*, vol. 5, ed. Isoda Kazuo et al. (Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), 142. Originally published by the Manchuria Daily Company Printing House, 1927.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Nandini Bhattacharya, *Contagion and Enclaves: Tropical Medicine in Colonial India* (Liverpool University Press, 2013), 2.

city, the home offered an area screened from environmental contagions.

The authors also prescribed actions that Japanese girls and women could take within the home during the autumn to protect susceptible family members, especially since they believed autumn's mercurial temperature changes created an ideal environment for disease. Children, the authors again warned, were especially susceptible to illnesses, including "children's dysentery." The encroaching cold temperatures, however, brought other concerns. The authors urged girls and women to slowly start using cold baths and showers to "train the skin to withstand the cold winter."⁴² When the winter season began, the authors ceased their discussions of disease. Rather, they focused on the susceptibility of "frail people and young children" to the "relentless" cold and strong wind. The authors wrote these groups could "have things happen such as damage to the respiratory system and frostbite." Though images of tropical disease faded in this section, the authors still constructed the Manchurian land as hostile and primitive.

Images, which the authors used liberally throughout the schoolgirl textbooks to help the students easily comprehend the content, reinforced the image of Manchuria as a perilous, frozen wasteland, as demonstrated by the chart included in the 1932 *Household Matters* manual (Figure 1.1).⁴³ The chart compares average temperatures across the Manchurian cities of Dairen, Mukden, and Chanchung to Japanese cities, including Fukuoka, Kyoto, Fukui, Tokyo, Yamagata, and Asahikawa. The chart demonstrates Dairen's temperatures roughly corresponded to temperatures in Yamagata, with Dairen varying just a few degrees from the temperature of this city every month. Therefore, Dairen's climate bore some similarities with an area inside the metropole.

⁴² *Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters*, 142.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 131.

昭和5年までの各地各月平均気温									
月別	地名	満洲			内地				
		大連	奉天	長春	福岡	京都	福井	東京	山形 旭川
1月		-5.0	-13.0	-17.2	5.0	2.6	2.4	3.0	-1.6 -10.0
2月		-3.5	-9.2	-12.7	5.1	3.1	2.4	3.7	-1.3 -8.9
3月		1.9	-1.0	-4.3	8.1	6.3	5.6	6.8	2.0 -4.3
4月		9.3	8.6	6.5	13.1	12.3	11.6	12.6	9.0 3.6
5月		15.2	15.8	14.3	17.1	16.6	16.3	16.6	14.3 10.1
6月		20.3	21.7	20.0	21.3	21.0	20.6	20.4	19.0 15.4
7月		23.5	24.7	23.4	25.6	25.2	24.9	24.2	23.0 19.6
8月		24.6	23.6	21.8	26.4	26.2	25.9	25.5	24.0 20.4
9月		19.8	16.7	14.7	22.3	22.2	21.7	22.0	19.5 14.8
10月		13.6	9.0	6.4	16.3	15.7	15.3	16.0	12.5 7.6
11月		5.2	-1.2	-4.4	11.5	9.8	9.9	10.5	6.5 0.9
12月		-2.2	-10.2	-14.2	6.9	4.7	4.9	5.3	1.1 -5.8
全年平均		10.2	7.1	4.5	14.9	13.8	13.5	13.9	10.7 5.3
昭和5年までの各地最高最低気温									
		大連	奉天	長春	福岡	京都	福井	東京	山形 旭川
最高気温		35.7	39.3	39.5	37.4	37.6	38.5	36.6	37.9 35.9
最低気温		-19.4	-32.9	-36.0	-8.2	-11.9	-15.1	-8.6	-20.0 -41.0
最高と最低の差		55.1	72.2	75.5	45.6	49.5	53.6	45.2	57.9 76.9

Figure 1.1 A comparison of temperatures in the *Naichi* to Manchuria (from 1920).
 “Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual: Volume I,” 1932.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ “Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual: Volume I [Manshū Kaji Gakushū-sho Jōkan],” in *Zai-man Nihonjin-yō Kyōkasho Shūsei*, vol. 5, ed. Isoda Kazuo et al. (Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), 174. Originally published by the Manchuria Daily Company Printing House, 1932.

Despite these similarities, the authors still portrayed the environment around Dairen as hostile, though they admittedly described the city in a more positive light than other areas of Manchuria.

The list demonstrates that average temperatures in Muken and Chanchung, however, were colder than in the main Japanese islands. The chart lists temperatures in Chanchung as several degrees cooler than temperatures in Asahikawa, a city in Hokkaido. Since Hokkaido often signified a backward, frozen wasteland in the Japanese imagination, this temperature comparison implied Chanchung denoted a more primitive and hostile space. If Japanese schoolgirls whose families migrated farther north during the 1930s as part of government-sponsored efforts to settle poor farming families in Manchuria read this text, they presumably learned they lived in an icy, savage place.⁴⁵ They learned the seasons represented a never-ending cycle of different perils to Japanese bodies and Japanese girls and women could only mitigate, not extinguish, these threats.⁴⁶

The 1932 “Household Matters” primer also included specific advice about protecting Japanese citizens from the Manchurian elements. It added the following forward to the “Hygiene and the Four Seasons” section:

⁴⁵ The Japanese government sought to curtail rural unrest by promoting emigration to Manchuria after installing the puppet government of Manchukuo in 1932. Among the first farmers to arrive after 1932 were 70 trainees from the agrarianist Kato Kanji’s school. Immigration also had a military dimension; Kato’s trainees carried guns, and a 1936 conversation between Kato and the head of the Economic Revitalization Section indicates Kato believed armed emigrants could successfully (and justly) seize the land they desired. Furthermore, the emigrants who settled in Manchuria before the end of WWII mostly occupied northern areas where it was not possible to grow Japanese staple foods such as rice. This indicates that military concerns, especially the military’s desire to create larger defense zones near the Russian border, took precedence over poor Japanese farmers’ economic opportunities. See Mori, “Colonies and Countryside in Wartime Japan.”

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the summer temperatures in Manchurian cities are similar to the temperatures of cities in the metropole. Though there is a greater variation in temperatures in Mukden and Changchun than Hokkaido (which the authors linked to a greater prevalence of infectious disease), there is an even smaller gap between average temperatures in Dairen and Yamagata in the summer than in the winter.

Throughout the four seasons, housewives should not neglect to provide detailed attention to the health of family members. There are particularly extreme differences between heat and cold in Manchuria, the rainfall is scant, and the cold is severe. Because of the particularity of the cold air and the strong wind so full of dust, the family members must make a great effort to physically adapt to this land by logically improving their way of life – what they wear, what they eat, where they live, etc.⁴⁷

By emphasizing that Japanese girls and women would have to make a great effort to control their environment, the authors indicated Japanese bodies were essentially unsuited for the Manchurian environment. In these texts, the home represents the last line of defense for protecting Japanese bodies against this hostile atmosphere. For rural dwellers without the benefits of a hygienic enclave in the city, the home perhaps signified the only line of defense. The ideal Japanese women's job was then to fortify the home against environmental incursions. Though the textbook writers were not hopeful that Japanese women could always successfully perform this duty, they instruct readers to always provide "detailed attention" to family members. They thus position the housewife as the ultimate guardian of Japanese bodies in an unhygienic environment.

Conclusion

Japanese settlers had many images of Manchuria to sort through based on the writings of physicians, educators, immigration associations, and the SMR. Immigrants, particularly those destined for rural areas, presumably projected the conflicting images they learned on the Manchurian land. Through educational manuals, settlers learned that Manchuria was both a fecund, bucolic paradise and a disease-riddled wasteland. However, the work of historians in other imperial contexts indicates that constructing

⁴⁷ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual," 161.

images of colonies was an unequal two-way process; while the Japanese projected these images on the land, they also began to redefine Japan.⁴⁸ Japanese writings shaped Japan as a hygienic, modern, and civilized space (excluding Hokkaido, Okinawa, and later Taiwan and Korea) as they imagined Manchuria as a primitive plague land. These writings also drew Dairen closer to the metropole while pushing other areas of Manchuria further to the periphery. Writers of household manuals positioned women as the protectors of Japanese bodies in order to combat anxieties about settlers' inability to cope in unhygienic environments. In so doing, educators indicated female settlers in the periphery served as vital protectors of health in the Manchurian empire.

⁴⁸ Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, "Views and Visions of the Tropical World," in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, eds. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 5.

CHAPTER 3

FROM “THE BACK OF BEYOND” TO “A MORE CIVILIZED FEEL THAN THE METROPOLE”: THE TRANSFORMATION OF DAIREN

In the fall of 1909, Natsume Sōseki, a renowned literary scholar and writer, traveled from his home in Tokyo to Manchuria and Korea at the invitation of the president of the South Manchuria Railway Company. When remembering his initial arrival in Dairen, Sōseki recorded the following observations:

On the pier, there were crowds of people; most of the people there, however, were Chinese coolies. Looking at any one of them, I had the immediate impression of dirt. Any two together were an even more unpleasant sight... Standing on the deck, I contemplated this mob from my distant observation point and thought, “Goodness! What a strange place I’ve come to!”⁴⁹

This passage indicates that the city of Dairen, which became the center of Japan’s informal empire in the region, was perceived similarly to the rest of Manchuria. After four years of Japanese rule over Dairen, outsiders like Sōseki perceived the city as backwards and unsanitary. The esteemed intellectual’s memory of his impression of Dairen included crowds of “unsightly,” “bellowing” Chinese coolies and grimy carriages. Sōseki indicated a sense of detachment and disdain; because of his perception of filth, he did not see Japanese-controlled Dairen as on par with Japan. Rather, he believed

⁴⁹ Natsume Sōseki, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, intro. and trans. Inger Sigrun Brodey and Sammy I. Tsunematsu (Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2000), 38-40.

Manchuria represented something foreign and Other, a “strange place.” Some of Sōseki’s contemporaries expressed similar sentiments. A 1912 article in the periodical *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* (Korea and Manchuria) labeled Manchuria “the back of beyond.”⁵⁰

Yet by August 1925, the South Manchuria publication *Magazine of the Reader’s Association* could comfortably brag that Dairen’s numerous modern comforts gave the city “a more civilized feel than the metropole.”⁵¹ How, then, did southern Manchuria, particularly the city of Dairen, become a modern, habitable place for a significant number of Japanese settlers? How did organizations interested in promoting Japanese immigration and increasing settlers’ political capital strive to alter perceptions about Dairen as a peripheral, unhygienic area? In this chapter, I explore how the Japanese administrators built the landscape of Dairen in order to create a hygienic, ordered, and thus modern city. I also study how structures and institutions relating to urban modernity, including hospitals, hotels, and schools, contributed to Japan’s colonial mission. In particular, I examine how the Dairen elites’ quest to make Dairen the center of civilization in Manchuria impacted the lower classes and women in the city, arguing that their modernity project depended on making Japanese women a conspicuous part of the landscape while reducing the visibility of the “unhygienic” Chinese poor.

Building and Protecting a Modern City

Though Dairen was not yet an urban metropolis when the Japanese gained official control of the area in 1905, they did not have to build the city from the ground up.

⁵⁰ O’Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 71.

⁵¹ Ibid., 40.

Dairen, though damaged in the Russo-Japanese war, had the makings of a modern city. From 1899-1903, Russian planners had invested over 30 million rupees to develop the city (then called Dalney) and harbor.⁵² Furthermore, Vladimir Sakharov, chief constructor for the Chinese Eastern Railway, envisioned plans for the city that drew upon the European and American “Garden City” and “City Beautiful” design movements. These movements, which began in 1898 in England and 1893 in America (at the Columbian Exposition) respectively, emphasized the importance of open spaces, tree-lined roadways, and gardens the public could enjoy.⁵³

The Japanese had made progress on Russian-inspired modernization projects in the central districts by 1910 (which did not include the dock areas Sōseki viewed). For example, the SMR had made headway on projects to extend waterworks systems to provide drinking water to the city’s population, a project that began under Russian occupation and continued to be a central priority as Japanese troops and civilians entered the area. The company also began enlarging the Russian sewage systems, electric works, and oil factories.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Japanese colonial administrators improved public

⁵² Perrins, “Doctors, Disease, and Development,” 107-108.

⁵³ Laurence C. Gerckens, *American City Planning Since 1900 A.D: A Course Manual* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 1975.). Modified by Larry Keating, FAICP, 2009, 2011, https://georgiaplanning.org/presentations/2011_fall_conference/Foundations_of_Modern_American_City_Planning.pdf. The Garden City Movement’s central characteristics were a central garden surrounded by peripheral gardens as well as public lands including greenbelts and woods. The City Beautiful Movement emphasized creating beautiful public works that would inspire civic pride and be accessible to everyone. This movement also underscored the importance of lining avenues with trees around the slums to bring light, air, and nature to these areas.

⁵⁴ *Eastern Asia: Trans-Continental Connections between Europe and Asia: Vol. 1, Manchuria and Chōsen*, Imperial Japanese Government Railways (Tokyo, 1913), 172. Colonial administrators often expressed concerns about water quality and hygienic sewage systems in Asia because they understood diseases spread in unsanitary conditions. Therefore, Russian and Japanese administrators prioritized creating modern water and sewer systems in order to protect their troops from disease. Water quality and sewage management continued to be an issue as civilians moved into the city; during the late 1910s, the city faced an annual issue of low water levels in city reservoirs during July and August, which prevented the sewage system from operating as well. Dairen’s administrators renewed their focus on

transportation works in the city; in 1908, the city's first electric tramline was completed.⁵⁵

However, this progress threatened to be derailed by the plague, which began to impact Dairen by December 1910.⁵⁶ At the city's hospitals, doctors diagnosed a small portion of itinerant Chinese laborers with the pneumonic plague. Afterward, the city took drastic measures. Empowered by assistance from Tokyo, the local government created the Guandong Temporary Sanitation Bureau, which enacted measures such as forcing several thousand Chinese laborers to spend the winter in a tent city. The bureau assumed this measure would protect the Japanese from the "natural" source of the infection.⁵⁷ Though the bureau undoubtedly subjected Chinese laborers to the most extreme and cruel forms of monitoring, the city's residents did not escape scrutiny. Other emergency measures included setting up inspection stations at each intersection in the city (manned by sanitation crews donning canvas full-body isolation suits), sealing off houses of the infected with iron sheets, and spraying these houses with formaldehyde.⁵⁸

Thus, hygiene and sanitation procedures in Manchurian cities developed within the context of the plague, leading the Japanese to see the land as fundamentally disease-ridden and unhygienic. Since Dairen's plague prevention measures were effective (only 66 people died in Dairen), the city could perhaps be perceived as a protected enclave, an inverse quarantine zone designed to mitigate the impacts of the Manchurian

improving the city's water quality and overall sanitation efforts after outbreaks of influenza and cholera occurred between 1918 and 1919. See Perrins, "Doctors, Disease, and Development," 117-118.

⁵⁵ Christian A. Hess, "From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis: Dalian 1895-1955" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2006), 32.

⁵⁶ Perrins, "Doctors, Disease, and Development," 109. The pneumonic plague likely spread to Dairen through infected rats carried by the railway.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 110.

environment.⁵⁹ However, creating this protected space required removing lower class Chinese residents from the city during periods of crisis. Such measures reinforced ideas of Japanese superiority in the region, casting the Japanese as civilized while portraying the Chinese as primitive. Japanese settlers in Dairen thus racialized the Chinese as contagions, which impacted the structure of Dairen's constructed areas, hygienic regimes, and daily interactions between the colonizers and colonized.

Constructing a Hygienic Enclave

Though the advent of the 1910 plague in Dairen heightened colonial anxieties, the specter of the disease impacted the development of hygienic institutions from the inception of Japanese rule in Manchuria. Administrators first dealt with their preoccupation with disease by carving out sanitary spaces. Since a comprehensive quarantine of the Manchurian environment was impossible, the Japanese in Dairen sought to reduce the degree of contact, and therefore contagion, with Manchuria's land by creating a hygienic enclave in the city. Such an endeavor required colonial administrators to construct a built atmosphere that would minimize colonists' exposure to the natural environment and disease.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid. All the plague victims who died in this area were Chinese.

⁶⁰ The enclavist approach was not new. In fact, European colonial powers built enclaves to protect their military members and colonial administrators. Colonial powers ostensibly moved away from the enclavist model in favor of public health models (which incorporated the natives) at the end of the nineteenth the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Yet even after bacteriology and germ theory entered common medical parlance and public health became the favored model, hygienic enclaves expanded in some areas (including hill stations in Hong Kong and Annam) as officials sought to protect foreign children from "the tropics." This demonstrates that there was not a straightforward shift from enclaves to public health models. Rather, "modern" medical ideas and the forms of colonial governance they inspired were layered with traditional ideas. See Robert Peckham and David M. Pomfret, "Introduction: Medicine, Hygiene, and the Re-ordering of Empire," in *Imperial Contagions:*

Gotō Shinpei served as one of the key administrators who helped create a protective built environment in Dairen. Gotō developed a deep and abiding interest in public health from an early age; at twenty-five years old, he was appointed Chancellor of the Nagoya Medical School.⁶¹ After this experience with hospitals, Gotō studied public health in Germany, ultimately completing a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of the chemist and hygienist Max von Pettenkofer. The dissertation compared the medical police and medical administration of Japan to other modern nations.⁶² Gotō returned to Japan, where he planned sewage and fresh water systems for Japanese cities as chief of the public health office in the Japanese Home Ministry. As a colonial administrator in Taiwan, Gotō developed a broader repertoire of city planning experience. He enhanced the Qing railway modernization plans in Taipei, constructed a railway station opposite a large square, established a grid pattern of streets, and created a distinct square for administrative buildings. He also added underground sewage and fresh water systems, telephone systems, and electric lights.⁶³

In November 1906, Gotō began his term as the SMR's first president. Buck writes that since the SMR operated under the joint ownership of private individuals and the government (with little official oversight), Gotō could plan boldly and spend a great deal of money.⁶⁴ He spared no expense on the SMR buildings, working with designers to build European-inspired headquarters and surroundings. The area around the SMR

Medicine, Hygiene, and Cultures of Planning in Asia, eds. Robert Peckham and David M. Pomfret (Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 7.

⁶¹ Lynteris, "From Prussia to China."

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ David D. Buck, "Railway City and National Capital: Two Faces of the Modern in Changchun" in *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900 to 1950*, ed. Joseph Esherick (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 74.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

headquarters included vast parks, a street system with an underlying grid pattern transversed by diagonal roads, and circular plazas. At each of the main SMR headquarter locations (Dairen, Mukden, and Changchun), he ensured there were preparations for sewer drainage, a fresh underground water supply, and land for temples and schools.⁶⁵

As these plans became a reality in Manchuria, Japanese city dwellers could feel more secure in their built environment. They had access to all the most modern developments in urban planning and hygiene due to the city's extensive planning. City occupants could spend time in splendid parks (which took up 7.2% of the land, compared with 2.8% of the land in Tokyo) that served as urban havens for Japanese residents. In some areas of Dairen, residents had access to asphalt pavement, central heating, and flush toilets.⁶⁶ The presence of toilets in particular differentiated Manchuria from the metropole since ordinary Japanese households obtained water closets decades after Manchurian urban centers.⁶⁷

Gotō made these wide-scale changes in the landscape because the area signified a *tabula rasa*, an empty space where urban planners could build modern cityscapes almost completely unencumbered by older architecture and entrenched landownership interests. Tokyo, a city that encountered both these issues during its modernization process, thus provides an interesting counterexample to Dairen. At the beginning of the Meiji Restoration, Tokyo had many open spaces suitable for large streets, open spaces, uniform architecture, and other requisites of a modern, Westernized city. After the fall of the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁶⁶ Shin'ichi Yamamuro, *Manchuria Under Japanese Dominion*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 268. By the 1930s, the city of Changchun (the capital of Manchuria) could boast that it was "the first city in Asia in which all [new] residential, commercial, and industrial buildings were equipped with water closets." See Rogaski, "Vampires in Plagueland," 134.

⁶⁷ Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 250.

Tokugawa regime, the lands the shogun distributed to the military class were returned to the central government. Many regional aristocrats, whom the government no longer forced to reside in the capital, returned to the provinces. This left immense areas abandoned at the center of the city.⁶⁸ However, other measures strengthened the power of the landowners, who made up a substantial portion of the new government members. Landowners became a powerful voice in urban planning and often prevented the government from instituting large-scale changes, such as expropriations, in the landscape.⁶⁹

Consequently, the government took a piecemeal approach to Tokyo's urban design, largely ignoring the advice of foreign architects they hired.⁷⁰ Instead, the government created its own plan in 1889, titled the First Plan for Urban Area Improvement of Tokyo, which included plans to insert city improvement measures while conserving the existing layout.⁷¹ In the Marunōchi area where the government owned large lots formerly occupied by the military class, this resulted in the Japanese elites opting to appropriate some daimyo residences for government purposes and build new structures, which left little room for city improvements. Furthermore, railway companies coped with complex landownership rules in order to obtain large, open spaces in residential districts; it took several years to create a plaza for the Shinbashi Station (south

⁶⁸ Carola Hein, "Shaping Tokyo: Land Development and Planning Practice in the Early Modern Japanese Metropolis," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 4 (July 2010): 453. According to Hein, Tokyo's population fell significantly at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration due to these factors.

⁶⁹ Ibid. For example, the Meiji government overturned the restriction on land transactions, which made land tradable and taxable.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 454. The German firm Wilhelm Bockmann and Hermannn Ende designed a government district in Hibiya that included large-scale changes to the landscape, but the government dropped this project in favor of the First Plan for Urban Area Improvement of Tokyo.

⁷¹ Ibid., 472.

of the Marunōchi space) because of these difficulties.⁷² As Minister of the Interior, Gotō Shinpei attempted to create large streets near the Tokyo Central Station via zone expropriation in 1919. He also drew greater scale plans for replotting and rebuilding the city after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, but both efforts failed to gain government support.⁷³ Planners instead used land readjustment, a process that allowed residents to stay on the sites they occupied and only brought in small changes, such as appropriating the borders of properties to construct streets.⁷⁴

By comparing modernization processes in Tokyo and Dairen, one can see the freedom administrators possessed in colonial Manchuria. City planners instituted changes with hardly any financial limits or local opposition. As Louise Young argues, officials in Manchuria could create the most modern cities because “they held at their disposal the power to seize land at will, to appropriate resources, and to silence dissenting voices; their modernist utopia rested on the foundation of the absolute power of the colonial state.”⁷⁵ Thus, colonial planners used their extraordinary power and freedom to construct protective enclaves sheltering Japanese citizens from the environment while ignoring and marginalizing the voices of other ethnic groups who opposed their vision of urban modernity.

⁷² Ibid., 473. The large areas that did involve more uniform, modern-looking construction, such as the Mitsubishi Company’s London-inspired business district, were special cases. In an unusual move, the government sold an entire track of former daimyo land to the company. The government typically sold off portions of large sites owned by former daimyos in pieces.

⁷³ Ibid., 474-475.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 456.

⁷⁵ Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 250.

Minimizing Contact with Diseased Populations

In order to create hygienic utopian cities, administrators worked to minimize colonists' interaction with Manchuria's "diseased" inhabitants. Before 1905, the majority of the lower class Chinese population lived in slums scattered throughout the city. Many of these families lived among the burnt skeletons of Russian homes. In September 1905, the Japanese administrators began moving Chinese residents into Chinatowns such as Xiaogangzi, an area easier for the colonial powers to police because of its row houses and paved roads.⁷⁶ The Japanese later employed Russian-based design plans for the city that created residential districts separated by avenues, which the Russians had planned to keep Chinese areas at a safe distance. Japanese planners built living areas for the elite and middle class Japanese separate from the diseased, lower class Chinese "coolies."⁷⁷

Therefore, Chinese laborers resided in liminal, undesirable areas of cities. Those in Dairen's northern Shahekou district lived near the SMR's principle locomotive factory; residents of East Dairen dwelled close to the docks (probably the area viewed by Sōseki); and workers in Xiaogangzi, an area neighboring the center of the city, lived in the proximity of soybean processing plants, brothels, opium dens, and temples.⁷⁸ Another Chinatown existed farther east in Si'ergou, a crowded area containing the terminus of a Dairen bus line, light manufacturing areas, commercial spaces, and residences.⁷⁹ As Emer O'Dwyer notes, these Chinese residential areas contained districts with distinctively Sinic names; in contrast, Japanese residential neighborhoods bore lyrical titles or the names of

⁷⁶ Hess, "From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis," 31.

⁷⁷ Perrins, 109. Perrins also notes the Japanese ensured Dairen would be a "green city" by creating parklands and planting thousands of Acacia trees. Planners believed these efforts would help keep the air clean, and thus create a more healthful environment for Japanese settlers.

⁷⁸ O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 55.

⁷⁹ Ibid. By 1933, Si'ergou gained the label of "Dairen's dirtiest Chinatown."

war heroes.⁸⁰ By constructing separate spaces for Chinese workers through both architecture and linguistics, the Japanese created barriers to protect the Japanese from exposure to the “primitive” Chinese lower classes.

However, the structure of Dairen’s new principal hospital (completed in 1925) disputes Tsurumi’s claim that the SMR built hospitals for the benefit of their Chinese neighbors. In the early 1920s, SMR president Senkichirō Hayakawa expressed a desire to construct a bigger hospital than the Rockefeller Foundation-commissioned building in Beijing. Consequently, he rejected a Japanese-planned design and commissioned the George A. Fuller Oriental Company, an American firm, to design and build the new Dairen Hospital in 1922.⁸¹ Almost 1,000 skilled and unskilled Chinese workers labored on the new hospital under the oversight of American engineers and Japanese foremen, but when the hospital began servicing clients, Chinese laborers were at a distinct disadvantage. Chinese SMR employees could obtain basic treatment at the hospital in segregated areas, but other Chinese residents of Dairen had to seek medical care elsewhere.⁸²

Therefore, part of building a hygienic sanctuary for Japanese settlers entailed keeping other ethnicities in designated areas, which reduced the amount of contact between the colonizers and colonized. Naturally, the Japanese could not completely separate their citizens from the Chinese; the Japanese needed Chinese laborers in various

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Nishizawa, “A Study of Colonial Architecture in East Asia,” 23. Kuroishi notes that in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, colonial administrators constructed new hospitals before new headquarters and used plans typical of the time period or even more advanced than typical plans, as was the case in Manchuria.

⁸² Perrins, “Doctors, Disease, and Development,” 122. Lower class Japanese also did not have easy access to the best service in the SMR hospital in Dairen because “special first class” rooms carried a hefty 10-yen daily fee. Meanwhile, the weekly pay of a skilled Japanese worker averaged below five yen.

areas throughout the city. The Japanese administrators also desired to demonstrate the Chinese benefited from contact with the Japanese colonizers since Japan used Confucian logic (with Social Darwinist overtones) to argue that the Chinese benefited from Japan's brotherly mission to uplift and civilize them. In fact, Naitō Konan, a leading Sinologist in Japan, remarked in 1924 that if China and Japan ever became one political unit and "even if Japan became active in China socially and politically, the Chinese people should not look on this as an extremely odd phenomenon."⁸³ Remarks like Naitō's therefore naturalized Japan's hierarchically superior position in Manchuria, depicting the Chinese as willing recipients of Japan's offering of a superior form of civilization. However, ideas about the unhygienic nature of the Chinese (particularly Chinese laborers) in Dairen also worked to increase fears amongst Japanese settlers in the area. The administrators used rhetoric that stressed Japanese and Chinese people's close relationship while creating structures that would physically distance themselves from the colonized, creating inherently contradictory colonial justifications.

Creating an Elite, Cosmopolitan Image

Japan's settlers not only used Dairen-centered rhetoric describing hygienic institutions to assuage colonial angst; they also sought to center Dairen as a modern city to build up their political status vis-à-vis Tokyo. As O'Dwyer argues, Dairen elites, spurred by intrainperial rivalries between capitals such as Pusan, Fengtian, and Seoul as well as interimperial conflicts between mainland Japanese cities, worked to occupy a

⁸³ Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology, the Case of Naito Konan (1866-1934)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 243.

prominent place in the Japanese empire.⁸⁴ They strove to build a city that was newer, more modern, and more cosmopolitan than other cities across Japan's imperial holdings. Dairen's administrators began constructing a modern city by using the Russian blueprint to build important financial and administrative buildings around the city's most iconic feature: the central circle. This feature physically recapitulated the colonists' endeavors to create hygienic enclaves due to their fears of being encircled by disease; the central circle represented all that was hygienic, modern, and reserved for the Japanese elite.

Architects adapted Russian structures or built new edifices to house Japanese administrators. In 1908, the police headquarters was the first building completed in this area (this action replicated Meiji Japan's compulsion to police and control).⁸⁵ In 1914, the British Consulate adopted a building in the circle, indicating the country's alliance with Japan and contributing to the perception of the area as modern and multicultural. Also during that year, a bronze statute of Ōshima Yoshimasa, a general during the Russo-Japanese War and first Governor-General of the Kwantung Leased Territory, was placed in the central area of the circle's plaza. The Yamato Hotel (Figure 2.1), a stately building designed for Westerners and located in the heart of the plaza, was completed in April of 1914.

SMR advertisements for the Yamato Hotel published in various English-language promotional materials, including *The Hotel Monthly* and *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*, provide an example of Dairen elites' efforts to prove their city was as modern as other metropolitan centers (and perhaps even more sophisticated than cities on the mainland). In *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*, a lengthy advertising manual

⁸⁴ O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 1-4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.



Figure 2.1: The grand Yamato Hotel. The building was located in a central area of Dairen's Big Plaza. The statue of war hero Ōshima Yoshimasa stood in front of the building. *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*, 1922. Public Domain.

published by the SMR office in New York in 1922, the authors assured American and European readers that they could have “all the comforts of home” whilst staying in Manchuria.⁸⁶ In 1916, the *Hotel Monthly* provided a painstakingly detailed article about the hotel in Dairen. The article even included a breakfast menu featuring Western dishes such as ham omelets, pancakes, scrambled eggs on toast, and chocolate.⁸⁷ These food choices demonstrate the SMR hoped its exquisite hotel in Dairen would draw in the finest

⁸⁶ *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*, 94. The Yamato Hotel was a chain operated by the SMR. By 1922, there were Yamato Hotels in Dairen, Port Arthur, Mukden, Changchun, and Hoshigaura.

⁸⁷ “New Yamato Hotel of Dairen, South Manchuria,” *Hotel Monthly*, vol. 23 (1915): 70. If Japanese people hoped to dine at Dairen's Yamato Hotel, Yokoyama Masao, the manager of the hotel during the mid 1920s, hoped they knew how to eat Western food. In 1925, he published a book in Tokyo that demonstrated his conviction that Japanese people (from both the metropole and colonies) needed to understand Western manners in order to prevent themselves from “being mistaken for savages.” See O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 49.

class of Western visitors. If it could do so, the city would seem more cosmopolitan and modern, which would doubtless impress visitors from both nearby Japan and across the sea.

However, food was not the only way Dairen's Yamato Hotel planned to impress its visitors. The article quoted a letter written by K. Nomura, an SMR employee involved in the Chōsen Railways Hotel System, specified the hotel was constructed of brick, steel, concrete, and stone, making it "absolutely fireproof." He explained the hotel used three methods of heating: steam, hot water, and hot air. Nomura also noted the hotel included a rooftop garden, which represented "quite an innovation to the city."⁸⁸ He claimed that as a visitor who had been taken from "every corner of the house from roof to cellar," he knew the "most painstaking care" was taken in constructing, furnishing, and decorating the hotel. All these luxury features, boasted Nomura, cost the company 1,200,000 yen.⁸⁹

Floor plans of the hotel, which Nomura also sent to the magazine, show even more luxurious features. The ground floor included a ballroom, bar and billiard room; and the first, second, and third floors had rooms with *en suite* baths and toilets. The plans also show Chinese servants were relegated to the basement (along with bachelors).⁹⁰ Though Chinese labor was necessary in the most modernized and sanitized spaces of Dairen, the colonizers distanced themselves (and the Westerners) from the lower class Chinese by creating quarantined zones for the hired help. Thus, colonial processes even occurred within the buildings of the Japanese-built enclave.

The grand buildings in the Big Plaza were not the only examples of modern,

⁸⁸ "New Yamato Hotel of Dairen, South Manchuria," 69.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 70.

cosmopolitan structures in the city. In an industrial zone called Shahekō, the SMR built a railcar repair/production plant. Since the company purchased 200 locomotives and around 2,000 railway cars from the United States in 1907, the factory at first primarily repaired these cars. By 1934, however, the plant could produce 30 locomotives and 45 passenger cars per year.⁹¹ The trains produced in this factory could carry passengers from the port (directly off of steamships) to the rest of the region; therefore, the company imagined the railway as Manchuria's link to the world.⁹² The late 1930s English-language publicity video *Manchukuo: The Newborn Empire* built upon this image. The narrator stressed that from the waterfront one could travel almost anywhere; Mukden, Siberia, Korea, Peking, and Japan were accessible from this area.⁹³ The company therefore imagined its trains as the engines of modernity, spreading goods, people, and civilization across the world.

Furthermore, the SMR showed audiences that they could reach the destination of their choosing in the height of comfort with their train systems. *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities* contained images of the inside of a luxurious, American-built dining car. This car had all the accouterments of modern travel, including electric lighting, white tablecloths and napkins, and gleaming dinnerware.⁹⁴ The image promoted the message that the SMR could accommodate people used to modern pleasures (Westerners included). Dairen administrators and businessmen also ensured the city itself would provide plenty of amusement for travelers and locals alike. According to O'Dwyer, locals grew extremely proud of Dairen's various amusements and favorably contrasted the

⁹¹ O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 38.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ *Manchukuo: The Newborn Empire*.

⁹⁴ *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*, 74.

city's offerings with cities in the metropole, including Tokyo.⁹⁵ By the mid-1930s, locals could have a shopping experience on par with residents of Japan since the city contained the luxury department stores of Mitsukoshi (built in 1907), Shirokiya, Takashimaya, and Matsuzakaya. The city also contained the Rensa Shopping District by 1929, an area containing over 200 shops on approximately 13,000 square meters. Promotional material proudly called this one million-yen mall "Japan's finest."⁹⁶ Furthermore, style-conscious locals could buy duty-free European and Russian off-the-rack fashions.⁹⁷

Dairen residents could also dine at cafes with exotic and more familiar names such as Brazil, Ginza, London, Osaka, and Parisienne. For dessert, they could stop by a branch of the Japanese sweetshop Fugetsudo, which was conveniently located between the central circle and Dairen Station. If locals wanted a night out, various locations offered drinks and music, including the New Tiger, a nightery featuring Argentinian music and tango dancing, and Pompeii, a Russian cabaret complete with songstresses. O'Dwyer notes these nighttime entertainments were accessible to Japanese on salaried wages.⁹⁸ Therefore, Dairen residents, even the nonelite with money to spare, could live a more cosmopolitan life than Japanese in the metropole.

⁹⁵ O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, 48.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 49. O'Dwyer argues this privilege of levying duties lay at the center of sovereignty, because "it was clear to all that Dairen was *not really* China."

⁹⁸ Ibid., 48.

Women in the Modern City

Colonial modernity in Dairen entailed more than constructing Westernized buildings and importing cosmopolitan amusements. It additionally required making women a part of the city's landscape. At a time when the West touted that the treatment of women represented a society's progress, making women a visible part of city life proved to be an essential component of modernity.⁹⁹ For example, early Western missionaries in Korea were troubled when they realized Korean women were not visually present in the cities and towns they visited. As Juldah Haening, a Methodist missionary, wrote, "Korean young women are conspicuous by their *absence*" from the public sphere.¹⁰⁰ The absence of Korean women in public helped to justify missionaries' views that unmodern, overly patriarchal men repressed Korean women; therefore, Korean women needed assistance from their Western sisters and Western, "civilized" society as a whole.

Western observers in colonial Dairen, however, noted Japanese women's prominent presence in city spaces. Gould Hunter Thomas, an American businessman who worked in China during the late 1930s, wrote the following passage in 1937:

We walked a short distance down a wide avenue and across a park circle reminiscent of Washington, D.C. The people in the streets were about equally divided between Japanese and Chinese, the Japanese women as usual dominating the scene as far as color was concerned. We spent an hour or so in the bar of the Yamato over some beer, chatting and watching a billiard game. The billiard

⁹⁹ Ann Towns noted the European idea of the "society of civilized states" also included excluding women from the political sphere. Women in a civilized society therefore could be part of the urban landscape of modern cities, but not part of the political environment. See Ann Towns, "The Status of Women as a Standard of Civilization," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 15 no. 4 (Dec. 2009): 681-706.

¹⁰⁰ Hyaewool Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). 45.

attendants were attractive Japanese in kimono, obi and tabi.¹⁰¹

Thomas' observations of the modern city, which included wide avenues, circular parks that he compared favorably to Washington, D.C., and the billiard room of the Yamato, painted Japanese women as a typical component of the city's background. Thomas also noted that though Japanese and Chinese both traversed the plaza (again indicating the presence of the Chinese even in the buffer zone areas of the city), Japanese women "as usual" outnumbered Chinese women in the square, presumably because of Chinese women's more restrictive gender norms. Japanese women's presence, which Thomas placed in direct opposition to Chinese women's visual absence, reflected favorably on the Japanese city, along with Japan's overall level of progress.

Nevertheless, Thomas' observations about Japanese women again point to the complexities of the connection between women in the public sphere and modernity. The "attractive Japanese in kimono" in the billiard room of the ultra-modern hotel worked outside the realm of the home, but they occupied servile positions that could be regarded as an extension of their domestic duties. Even when Japanese women's presence itself marked them as modern (especially in comparison to Chinese women), some still wore traditional clothing, including obi and kimono, while working in Western environments. Japanese women thus could embody multiple views of modernity and tradition simultaneously.

Japanese women not only appeared in the city's plaza. Data show that by the mid 1930s, Japanese women in Dairen were present in nearly every industry, meaning they served as visible components of the urban landscape throughout the city. These data,

¹⁰¹ Gould Hunter Thomas, "An American in China," accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.willysthenathomas.net/YamatoHotelDairen.htm>.

illustrated in Table 1.1, show that out of the 52,238 Japanese women who entered a response on the survey, approximately 18 percent listed a main occupation and roughly 80 percent had a secondary occupation.¹⁰² The widespread nature of these occupations shows citizens of Dairen encountered women in many facets of their everyday life. They could meet lower class Japanese women in a variety of factory settings, especially factories mass-producing mechanical implements, food and drinks, and clothing and accessories.¹⁰³ A large number of lower class women worked on the docks, presumably doing manual labor that was far-from-ideal work for women according to bourgeois Japanese sensibilities.¹⁰⁴ In a more gender-typical line of work, Japanese women created artistic goods and ceramics, which the SMR advertised by including an image of women decorating ceramics in a factory¹⁰⁵

The presence of so many lower class women engaged in occupations is not surprising. From 1932 until the end of the Second World War, the Japanese government supported campaigns to relocate Japanese peasants from the *naichi* to Manchuria, which resulted in the increase of Manchuria's resident population from 200,000 in 1930 to

¹⁰² There seem to be discrepancies in the original data. They report that 63,930 Japanese women were surveyed, but 11,692 women are missing from this number.

¹⁰³ The rather low number of women working in the factories is unsurprising because women in mainland Japan working in factories began to drop at this time. From 1920-1930, over half of all workers in factories were women (since their labor was cheaper), but as industrialization progressed, along with the demand for skilled male laborers, women were driven into the service and informal sectors, including stores, shops, and cafes. See Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 12.

¹⁰⁴ Female dockworkers had a significant public presence in mainland Japan, despite their exclusion from the political sphere. In 1918, female dockworkers in Japan refused to load rice onto ships because they could not afford to buy this rice for their families. This action caused nationwide riots. See Christopher Gerteis, "Political Protest in Interwar Japan – Posters and Handbills from the Ohara Collection (1920s-1930s)," http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/protest_interwar_japan/pij1_essay03.pdf.

¹⁰⁵ The promotional guide does not specify whether the women in this photograph were Japanese, Chinese, or another ethnicity, but Japanese women did the sort of work portrayed in the picture.

Table 1.1: Women's Responses to the Dairen Occupational Survey (1936)

Occupation	Main	Secondary
Army/Navy	0	161
Arts	139	394
Bureaucracy	142	4,568
Ceramics	3	168
Chemical Manufacturing	3	348
Clothing/Accessories Manufacturing	420	881
Commerce (Misc.)	426	1,968
Construction	16	3,030
Dry Goods	1,211	4,685
Education	156	1,528
Farming/Livestock	40	132
Fishing	0	346
Food/Sweets/Drinks Manufacturing	144	999
Forestry	0	3
Household Help	1,352	408
Journalism/Writing	17	640
Law	21	218
Lodging/Bathhouse	3,463	1,382
Mechanical	44	3,260
Media/Communications	246	2,290
Medical	942	1,172
Metalworking	6	613
Mining/Metallurgy	0	205
Religion	59	883
Shipping	439	10,733
Woodworking	6	633
Unemployed	1,335	

Significant Soil, Appendix A, Table 3.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, Appendix A, Table 3.

1,000,000 in 1940.¹⁰⁷

Middle class women were also noticeable in various occupations throughout Dairen. Over 4,700 did bureaucratic work, presumably serving as secretaries. Nearly 6,000 worked in dry goods stores, which included aspirational jobs in luxury department stores such as Mitsukoshi. As Sangmi Bae wrote about department store workers in Korea and mainland Japan, women who worked as sales clerks in this type of occupation “became a landscape which was stimulating [to] customers’ consumerist desire combined with sexual, seductive, and immoral modern girls’ images.”¹⁰⁸ This occupation thus provided stores with an undeniably modern image, complete with connotations of overly Westernized, immoral, and seductive women.

Furthermore, married elite women contributed to the modern landscape in Dairen. Kazuko Kuramoto, a Japanese subject who was born and raised in southern Manchuria, wrote about her Aunt Masao, a woman who managed a scrap iron importing business in Dairen alongside her husband, in her memoir *Manchurian Legacy*. According to Kuramoto, her aunt’s employees and associates called her “boss lady” because of her authoritative air. She wrote that since women typically did not run businesses in the 1940s, “Aunt Masu was unique *even in the colonial metropolis of Dairen* [emphasis added].”¹⁰⁹ Kuramoto’s words show that though women managers were unusual, Dairen’s colonial modernity allowed for a certain degree of freedom from the

¹⁰⁷ Mori, “Colonies and the Countryside in Wartime Japan.” These immigrants often came from extremely poor, rural areas of the mainland that had been hit hard by the depression. Ohinta Village in the Nagano Prefecture, Yamato Village in the Yamagata Prefecture, and Nango Village in the Miyai Prefecture were the top three villages that sent the most emigrants to Manchuria.

¹⁰⁸ Sangmi Bae, “Contextualizing Department Store and Women Clerks: Korea and Japan in the Early 1930s,” University of London Center of Korean Studies, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/events/seminars/13nov2015-contextualising-department-store-and-women-clerks-korea-and-japan-in-the--early-1930s.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Kuramoto, *Manchurian Legacy*, 17.

metropole's gender expectations.

These examples conjointly indicate women were a nearly ubiquitous presence in Japanese-controlled Dairen. They represented a discernible component of the city's modern work environment, and as the number of unemployed women (who presumably were housewives) indicates, far outnumbered women who solely occupied the domestic sphere. These women did not completely distance themselves from the domestic realm; in fact, the large number of women who marked down secondary occupations likely believed their primary occupation was in the home. Nevertheless, their presence could be used to mark Japanese as distinct and advanced in the Western sense, yet still unmistakably Japanese. Therefore, including women in the visual culture of Dairen helped the city's elites construct the image of the area as a modern metropolis that still retained its traditional roots.

Educating Modern Colonial Citizens

Colonial modernity in Dairen entailed more than constructing Westernized buildings and including women as part of the city's background. It additionally required educating the populace in a manner that would support Japan's imperial endeavors in the city. In fact, Gotō realized the importance of education early in the process of expanding Japanese control in southern Manchuria. He labeled the SMR's plans to build schools, hospitals, and research facilities "military preparedness in civilian garb." Gotō wrote, "We have to implement a cultural invasion with a Central Laboratory, popular education

for the resident populace, and forge other academic and economic links.”¹¹⁰ Since Gotō thought it necessary to invade the region culturally as well as physically, it is understandable that the SMR focused its energies on building schools. In fact, the company constructed schools for the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans in the Leased Territory. Most financial resources were allotted for the education of Japanese and Korean students, but the company also built ten schools for Chinese students. Approximately 5,000 pupils attended these Chinese schools by 1935.¹¹¹

With these schools in place, Japanese officials could seek to bolster their imperial capital in the region by broadly advertising these Japanese-built Chinese schools to the West. A May 1929 article in the *New York Times* titled “Progress of Dairen: A Chinese Marvel” emphasized Japan’s rapid modernization and casted the nation as a benevolent tutor of the Chinese living in Dairen. “The Dairen of today is a product of the efficiency of modern Japan, a nation which only seventy years ago was a semi-feudal, semi-medieval state,” wrote the article’s unnamed author. The author continued,

In the small area of leased territory which Japan holds around Dairen, only 1,300 square miles in all, there are more schools and colleges for Chinese than in any like area in China. Japanese agencies in Dairen spend more money for hospitals, for free libraries, for model housing and for experimental work, all primarily for the Chinese, than is spent in Shanghai.¹¹²

This article casts Japan as the Chinese residents of Dairen’s benevolent benefactor. By

¹¹⁰ Gotō Shinpei, quoted in Christian A. Hess’ thesis “From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis: Dalian 1895-1955,” 37.

¹¹¹ Hess, “From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis,” 39. Andrew Hall states that in the 1930s and 1940s, educators’ goals focused on preventing Chinese students from perceiving themselves as Chinese (which they sought to accomplish through repression, rewards, and censorship) as well as fostering enthusiasm amongst the students for the Japanese language, cause, and state goals. He argues educators met with limited success regarding the first goal and abject failure with the second. See Andrew Reed Hall, “Constructing a ‘Manchurian Identity: Japanese Education in Manchukuo, 1931-1945” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2004), 222-223.

¹¹² “Progress of Dairen: A Chinese Marvel,” *New York Times* (1923-Current file), May 31, 1929, 43. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times*.

mentioning that the Japanese spent more on amenities for the Chinese than officials in Shanghai, it implies Japan could do more for these citizens than the Chinese government, as well as the Western powers present in other Chinese cities. It claimed the Japanese could provide Dairen's Chinese population with the benefits essential to life in modern cities, which included access to knowledge contained in modern libraries and educational facilities. The article thus portrays Japanese colonial operations in the city as primarily altruistic in nature; it implies Japan eagerly strove to impart the lessons they had learned through their rapid industrialization process to the Chinese via education. This served as further validation for Japanese imperialism in Manchuria and also bolstered Japan's image as a civilizing imperial power vis-à-vis the West.

Textbooks written for Japanese children studying in Manchuria focused less on Japan's supposedly magnanimous relationship with the Chinese in Dairen, instead centering on Japan's contributions to the built environment of the city. For example, a supplementary text used for elementary students in Manchuria (published in 1921) emphasized the Japanese-built landscape of Dairen, concentrating on industrial and technological advances along with population growth (from the *naichi*).¹¹³ An illustrated image included in the text's description of the city demonstrates some of Dairen's most up-to-date technological advances of the time period. The image shows wide streets, uniform, Western-style buildings with brick edging, and a tram in the distance. Power poles line the sidewalks, and countless electric transmission lines traverse the area over

¹¹³ "Manchuria Supplementary Textbook [Manshū hojū kyōkasho]," in *Zaiman Nihonjin-yō Kyōkasho Shūsei*, vol. 5, ed. Isoda Kazuo et al. (Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), 7-9. Originally published by the Manchuria Daily Company Printing House, 1921.

the street.¹¹⁴ Such images and descriptions served to invoke a sense of ownership and pride in Japanese pupils. The text's authors implied this city, which the Japanese had spent so much capital to build up, was undeniably theirs.

The textbook writers sought to further instill feelings of ownership in Japanese children through the following rhyme:

In the great plaza, the grass is green,
At Hoshigaura beach, the sand is white.
A sunset view that can't be believed,
A beautiful city,
An engaging city,
My Dairen, where life is good.¹¹⁵

As each child sang about “my Dairen,” they focused on the Japanese-constructed environment. The grass was green in the plaza, an area where officials had carefully planned out grand buildings surrounded by spacious green parks. The sand was white at Hoshigaura, a beach close to Dairen where the Japanese had constructed a resort. Though the sunset view could not be believed, the song implies it was enhanced by the built aspects of the beautiful, engaging city “where life [was] good.” Thus, the authors strove to make the Manchurian environment benign in the city. They indicated modern, hygienic building projects made Dairen a suitable home for the Japanese. Education therefore functioned to make future subjects of Dairen loyal to the city by stressing Japanese endeavors to create a modern, hygienic metropolis had succeeded.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁵ Miriam Kingsberg, trans. *Zai-man Nihonjin-yō Kyōkasho Shūsei*, vol. 7, ed. Isoda Kazuo et. al (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), 61, accessed June 12, 2016, <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?p=3704>.

Conclusion

In order to tame the Manchurian land and make it suitable for Japanese settlements, administrators worked to construct Dairen as a modern, hygienic city. Freed from the constraints of the mainland, urban planners could make their visions of an urban utopia a reality. However, only the middle class and elite colonizers could enjoy the full benefits of this urban utopia. Creating a hygienic, urban space included pushing lower class Chinese, whom Sōseki and many others racialized as primitive and unsanitary, to the periphery. However, Dairen's version of colonial modernity was not oppressive for all. Japanese women's ability to be very present in the colonial landscape shows the colonial context created space for some women to pursue different routes than their female counterparts in the mainland, though these women still continued to be linked to traditional roles. However, educational texts demonstrate that even the relatively greater degree of female autonomy in Manchuria led to anxiety amongst colonial educators. Modernity offered Dairen's settler colony justification for their presence and a feeling of ownership over the land, but it also threatened to upset established gender hierarchies. As Chapter 4 explores, rearranging the gender order endangered the colonial venture because educators relied on domestic Japanese women to strengthen the division between the colonizer and colonized and protect Japanese bodies. Textbook writers and educators thus strove to use "cultural invasion" tactics to ingrain scientific, middle class ideas of household management in the minds of Japanese girls in Manchuria.

CHAPTER 4

PROTECTORS OF BODIES AND MINDS: MODERNITY AND TRADITION IN JAPANESE FEMALE EDUCATION

[Housing] serves to keep the family harmonious and relaxed and also functions as a place for people's self-cultivation. Women spend the majority of their lives in the domestic sphere, becoming the center of the household's wholesome moral character, ethical cultivation, and comfort.¹¹⁶

This quotation from a 1932 primer titled the “Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual” provides an example of how upper-elementary schoolgirls (aged approximately 12-14 years old) in Manchuria learned about their domestic roles. One of the most persistent themes throughout the text is the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) doctrine, which emphasized women's integral position as wives and mothers in Japanese homes. Despite women's prominent visual presence in the colonial landscape, the text did not mention women's roles outside of the home; instead, the text taught future Japanese mothers to confine themselves to the domestic realm, protect their kin, and impart Japanese values upon their homes' residents. Educators constructed lessons that taught schoolgirls to maintain scientifically managed, upper-class homes through Western-influenced ideas about hygienic practices and labor productivity. In so doing,

¹¹⁶ “Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual,” 173.

educators connected Japanese identity to cleanliness, modernity, and elite sensibilities. They also cautioned that this identity must be carefully preserved, especially in the unhygienic, primitive space of Manchuria. Thus, educators sought to enlist schoolgirls in empire-building efforts by teaching them to serve as domestic guardians of moral and physical hygiene and producers of elite imperial citizens.

In order to examine educators' goals, I use three primers, titled "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook: For the Use of First-Year Higher Elementary Students," "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook: For the Use of Second-Year Higher Elementary Students," and "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual." The Manchuria Daily Company Printing House published the texts in Dairen in 1927, 1928, and 1932, respectively. The forward does not specify who authored these educational primers, but it does mention they compiled the texts for the use of elementary students. The South Manchuria Education Society Textbook Department, a textbook-editing unit formed in 1922 under the joint auspices of the Kwantung Territory and South Manchuria Railway Company, presumably edited the majority of the *Household Matters* textbooks since the department assumed responsibility for creating standard elementary texts in Japanese.¹¹⁷ Students attending the South Manchuria Railway's girls' schools, which numbered eleven by 1922, probably used these texts.¹¹⁸ Thus, the books' authors adapted standardized mainland messages about women's vital mission to maintain a hygienic, elite home and disseminated these messages in Japanese-controlled areas.

Though the textbooks appear to present a typical vision of the Japanese colonial

¹¹⁷ Hall, "Constructing a 'Manchurian' Identity," 173.

¹¹⁸ *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities*, 103.

home life, in actuality they depict an idealized image of bourgeois domesticity that only the upper-middle class and elite residing in urban areas could obtain. Despite the fact that these standards would be difficult (if not impossible) for many of the students to obtain, the texts strictly prescribe women's behavior, carefully laying out their day-to-day duties and their responsibilities to care for themselves and other Japanese bodies under their roof. Thus, these books contributed to the "battery of texts and discursive practices that concerned themselves with the physical being of the colonized [and in this case, the colonizers]." ¹¹⁹ As David Arnold notes in his work about colonial India, colonialism (and colonial tools such as texts) attempted to use the body as "a site for the construction of its own authority, legitimacy, and control." ¹²⁰ The texts' fictive depictions of women solely performing domestic duties and prescriptive notes that guided the girls toward this vision demonstrate the colonial state fought to secure its legitimacy and authority over Japanese households in Manchuria by controlling the bodies of Japanese women, who occupied an interstitial space between the colonizer and colonized in the colonial hierarchy. ¹²¹

¹¹⁹ David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²¹ Antoinette Burton noted about English women during the height of the British empire, women represented the "unpolitical Other" in politics. Japanese women also were construed as the unpolitical Other in society. The textbooks present an extreme form of these views, seeking to keep Japanese women confined to the domestic sphere and far from the public political mechanisms of colonial society. Though Japanese women were far more present in the public sphere than the texts imply, these women still could not derive the same benefits from colonial power structures as Japanese men. See Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 18.

Educating and Monitoring the Japanese Body

The textbooks exhibited the authors' concern with the physical being of Japanese citizens in Manchuria by teaching readers that one of their primary duties as mothers and wives in Manchuria was to monitor, guard, and care for Japanese bodies. As Chapter 2 discusses, the girls' textbooks constructed the Manchurian environment as fundamentally primitive and diseased and urged readers to fulfill their duties by taking every precaution to isolate the home from the Manchurian atmosphere. Schoolgirls not only learned about the threat of disease to Japanese bodies and ways to mitigate the harms of Manchurian germs through textbooks; they also absorbed these lessons from the hygienic systems implemented in schools. According to Tsurumi, regulations instituted in February 1908 stipulated that primary schools in the SMR railway zones each have their own school physician.¹²² School physicians totaled 35 by April 1921, and each doctor held responsibility for an average of 332 school children.¹²³ School children under these physicians' purview became objects to be monitored, weighed, and studied; physicians meticulously collected data, often comparing the bodies of Chinese and Japanese children in Manchuria with the bodies of Japanese children in the metropole.¹²⁴

Physicians employed by the SMR were particularly invested in recording instances of illness and disease in children. The SMR schools collected data on diseases

¹²² Tsurumi, *Glimpse of Public Hygiene*, 48-49. The SMR also created regulations requiring Chinese primary schools in railway zones have school physicians in 1909.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 49-50. The book stated that younger Japanese boys in Manchuria were "superior in stature to their brother children in Japan," but the case was reversed with older boys. Japanese girls under the age of 12 in Manchuria, however, were shorter than mainland girls, but Tsurumi noted that "at other ages, they do better." In regard to weight, the book said both male and female children in Manchuria were "superior" to schoolchildren in Japan, though the children in Manchuria's bust size were "a little inferior." Finally, the book reported Chinese children had "slender, but tall bodies," but in the weight category, Chinese children at ages other than 7 and 8 had a "remarkable inferiority."

including trachoma; ear, nose, and throat disease; and tooth decay. They compared disease rates amongst Chinese and Japanese children with rates on the mainland, noting Japanese children in Manchuria suffered from illnesses such as tooth decay at a 50% higher rate. Like the textbooks' authors, the SMR felt concerned about children residing in Manchuria because they thought the "excessive" climate, which had "two extremes of heat and cold," brought about more disease. They collected data from different schools, finding rates of illness highest in December and lowest in July and August.¹²⁵

In order to promote student health, the SMR took a number of actions. In 1917 and 1919, the company held two school hygiene conferences. Attendees of these conferences discussed prevention and treatment of diseases (particularly trachoma) and student exercises.¹²⁶ The schools also required students above the fifth-year grades to swim and bathe, arguing data they collected showed boys who participated in these activities gained weight and height at a better rate than those who did not take part. However, Tsurumi wrote that these benefits were "more remarkable with the boy children than with the girl children."¹²⁷ SMR schools also took children of both sexes on hot springs trips, noting that such trips reduced illness rates, lowered fatigue, and lessened melancholy.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Ibid., 51-52.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 53.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 52.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 52-53. Hot springs were connected to healing early in Japanese history. In early times, the springs were called "divine baths" and connected to miraculous healings. During the Tokugawa era, specific thermal baths were famous for treating particular skin-related diseases, including syphilis, hemorrhoids, and scabies. Thus, the SMR physicians' belief in the healthful properties stemmed from traditional Japanese practices, though the book uses more modern medical conceptions of disease by emphasizing the hot springs' ability to prevent illnesses rather than cure them. See Ellen Gardner Nakamura, *Practical Pursuits: Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku, and Western Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs, 255 (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 77-78.

Therefore, Japanese elementary schools in Manchuria built hygienic regimens into the everyday life of children. By the time upper-elementary schoolgirls read household manual texts, they were accustomed to having their bodies weighed, measured, and monitored. They were familiar with administrators' determination to prevent illness and promote health through a prescribed set of actions. The texts sought to teach schoolgirls to replicate these approaches to protecting Japanese bodies, instructing them to take a number of set actions to prevent illness and to constantly monitor the health of family members.

If a member of the household fell ill despite precautions against Manchurian illnesses and pollutants, the educators expected women and girls to guide their kin to recovery by monitoring the patient and following a carefully prescribed set of actions. In a section titled "Nursing," the authors told the schoolgirls nursing was a crucial part of their tasks. They wrote, "Since nursing, along with the doctor's treatment, is important, understand its ways when you are in charge of housework."¹²⁹ The authors stressed that women should undertake the duties of caring for the patients themselves. They continued to underscore that women should serve as partners of the doctors by following the physicians' instructions and monitoring changes to patients' conditions.¹³⁰ Other sections instructed readers on how to properly use and sterilize a mercury thermometer, how to administer medication, and what foods to give patients.¹³¹ The text writers included detailed instructions about illness in babies and small children (who they noted were the most susceptible to Manchurian disease), instructing their readers to "pay attention to

¹²⁹ "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook, [1927]" 139.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

[small children's] normal body temperature, appetite, and bowel movements" and including detailed descriptions of the symptoms of common Manchurian diseases in children.¹³² Therefore, educators expected schoolgirls to utilize the methods of observation and treatments of illness they learned throughout their daily lives in school as well as in the texts to guard the hygienic bodies of Japan's most vulnerable in an unhygienic environment.

Identity and Domestic Hygiene

The text did not just emphasize Japanese mothers' role as guardians of Japanese bodies; it demonstrated they were also expected to protect Japanese minds by helping family members maintain their identity. Girls used the primers' housing sections to learn about the importance of cultivating and protecting Japanese identity while residing in Manchuria. In a passage titled "The Purpose of Housing," the authors espoused their views about women's central place in the home. They wrote that housing protected the lives and property of the family from the physical elements, promoted family harmony, and served as an area for self-cultivation.¹³³ The authors thought the purpose of the bounded space of the house was not only to shield its members from the Manchurian elements, which they described as particularly harsh and detrimental to Japanese citizens' health, but also to serve as a center of personal development. This positioned the home as the primary construction site of Japanese colonial identity because the authors implied the household was one of the few sites where Japanese nationals outside of the *naichi* could

¹³² "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters Textbook [1928]," 154.

¹³³ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual [1932]," 173.

thrive both physically and mentally. Furthermore, the authors' wording also centered the home as the microcosm of the state. They demonstrate elites wanted women to build healthy Japanese homes because this would make colonial governance easier.

The authors also indicated that they believed girls and women were fundamentally linked to the home and Japanese identity production. In the 1927 version of the text, the authors told the girls the best sort of home served as a "convenient place for children and women's education."¹³⁴ The reason women should make the home an educational space was simple; the authors believed women served as the moral compass of the home. "Women spend the majority of their lives in the domestic sphere, becoming the center of the household's wholesome moral character, ethical cultivation, and comfort," they wrote.¹³⁵ Thus, the writers sought to impart their vision of the ideal homemaker upon their imagined audience. The ideal woman had an intrinsic tie to the home because she spent most of her life in this space. As a housewife and mother, she had the responsibility to ensure her family's (and her own) comfort and moral growth. She had the duty to embody the authors' idea of Japanese identity, i.e. "wholesome moral character," and disseminate lessons that would cultivate her family members' Japanese characteristics.

The authors elaborated on women's duties to foster Japanese character in the 1928 text. They wrote,

Nurture pious feelings, look after ancestral rites, protect ceremonies, obey one's elders, love children, and cooperatively together as a family make habits of studying and making great endeavors. Since our ancestors have transmitted many virtuous family traditions, do not unnecessarily alter them.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters [1927]," 136.

¹³⁵ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual: Volume I [1932]," 173.

¹³⁶ "Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters [1928]," 159.

Educators emphasized the entire household should diligently serve and respect the elderly by “intuiting what they want.” They also carefully specified how children should be educated. They described childhood training in the home as the housewives’ “primary mission” and detailed how this training should proceed. This training included having children learn “common household matters” through observation. The authors also indicated the wife should frequently contact her children’s school “to measure the development [of the child’s] mind and body.”¹³⁷ The housewife’s duty as the moral center of the home involved keeping family members’ thoughts firmly focused toward family traditions and education, thus preserving her family’s ethnic identity in a colonial environment.

The authors presumably perceived the ideal wife as the home’s moral center because she spent most of her time in the protected, hygienic, and therefore fundamentally Japanese space of the home. They wrote that the wife “must protect the minds and bodies of the entire family while her husband works outside.”¹³⁸ This conveys that the husband, the family member who spent more of his days in the outer world, was a possible source of contagion. His outside work, while necessary, ensured he had greater exposure to the Manchurian dirt and disease and could bring contagions into the home. The wife could be seen as a purer representative of Japan because she had less contact with Manchuria’s environment and people. She could guard the family’s minds and bodies because she had fewer opportunities to become polluted. However, since data indicate vast numbers of women in Dairen worked outside the home in secondary occupations, one can presume women who could not or did not desire to fulfill this ideal

¹³⁷ Ibid., 159.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

role were also potential sources of disease.

The construction of the ideal domestic sphere as a spiritually pure female domain for identity formation and the outer world as a fundamentally polluted male domain was not limited to Japan. As Prasenjit Duara notes, the view that women embodied “the essential truth of a nation of civilization” inflected nationalist discourse in the West, Latin America, and Asia.¹³⁹ Furthermore, Partha Chatterjee describes how Indian nationalists in the latter half of the nineteenth century created this dichotomous view of inner and outer spheres in order to prove Indians were spiritually superior to the West. He explains that in Indian nationalist rhetoric, the home represented “one’s inner spiritual self, one’s true identity.” He argues, “The home in its essence must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world – and the woman is its representation.” In contrast, the outer world, which was a male space, signified material and pragmatic interests.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, the texts connected women with Japanese traditions and values, positioning them as the purer representatives of Japanese identity. The educators relied on women to impart this identity to build strong, culturally Japanese nuclear families (since nuclear families rather than large families signified the norm in modern societies) that would form the basis of stable governance in Manchuria.¹⁴¹

However, the sections of the text regarding Japanese women’s dress also indicate women were expected to be modern. The 1928 text includes the following advice about wearing kimono: “Since the kimono is a garment of beauty, it is suitable for “Sunday best”

¹³⁹ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 135.

¹⁴⁰ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 120.

¹⁴¹ Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 149. Duara explained that the image of the family-state was strongly influential in Japan and spread to China. He wrote that “the family became the root metaphor for loyalty to the state” in Manchukuo.

and recreational wear, but because it is not suited for physical activity, wear Western clothing when you engage in work or travel.”¹⁴² This advice shows the textbook writers expected women to wear traditional-style clothing during special occasions and when entertaining, yet they also advised women to wear Western clothing while working (presumably in the home) and traveling. They gave schoolgirls mixed messages, telling them to preserve Japanese identity in the home while advising them to wear Western clothing in both the public and domestic spheres at certain times.

Images of Japanese girls and women in Manchuria demonstrate the contradictory messages surrounding clothing. A late 1930s advertisement video shows crowds of people strolling near the Dairen docks. It displays clusters of women in kimono or yukata; no Western-dressed women are in sight.¹⁴³ Contrastingly, the video’s clips of schoolgirls show the students and teachers in Western-style skirts and tops with clean white aprons (as shown in Figure 3.1).

Therefore, Japanese schoolgirls in Manchuria learned ambiguous lessons about their simultaneous positions as the sources of tradition and modern, educated household managers. They were instructed to wear Western clothing as they performed labor-intensive tasks around the home while teaching their children to obey tradition. They concurrently represented modernity and tradition as well as Japanese and Western values. Text writers strove to create women who would remain committed to Japanese values while donning Western clothes and who would retain their scientific, modern thinking while wearing kimono.

¹⁴² “Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual [1932],” 164.

¹⁴³ *Manchukuo: The Newborn Empire*.



Figure 3.1: Still of Japanese schoolgirls learning cooking methods. *Beaux Art Productions*, 1930s ca.

Caring for Japanese Bodies in the Colonial Home

Future Japanese housewives and mothers learned that dressing appropriately and imparting Japanese values were not their only duties. Guarding the minds and bodies of her family members also entailed carefully selecting a place of residence. The authors encouraged the schoolgirls to consider the convenience of a future home's "location, structure, and facilities."¹⁴⁴ They also expected a housewife to take meticulous account of environmental factors that could affect her family's health. They told the girls it was ideal to find "a sunny place on high and dry ground, and terrain where the northwest is high and the southeast is low." They cautioned against living in a location with exposure to the

¹⁴⁴ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual [1932]," 173.

northwest wind during the winter and advised the girls to “find a place where the water supply and drainage equipment is perfectly usable.”¹⁴⁵ The text’s creators seemed to be particularly concerned about the Japanese populace’s exposure to the Manchurian winter. This is evidenced by their cautions against the northwest winter wind and their stress on the importance of locating a high, sunny location for the home. Women needed to mitigate the ill effects of the cold Manchurian winter by carefully selecting an ideal location for their homes and striving to keep the winter winds out of the protected space of the home.

Since the texts were published in Dairen, presumably for urban girls in this growing colonial city, the authors taught their readers they had an additional duty to guard their kin from manmade environmental contaminants. They wrote, “It is ideal if there are no factories and corporations that pollute the area in the vicinity [of the home].”¹⁴⁶ This section of the text exposes an incongruity in Japanese colonial thought; colonists in Manchuria felt obligated to cloister themselves in modern cities and homes to protect themselves from this disease-riddled frontier land, but modernity also brought its own dangers. Factories helped to make modern colonial cities possible, but they also released pollutants into the colonial cities. The Japanese thus contributed to environmental pollution, which made their presence in Manchuria even more dangerous.

Another incongruity these texts uncover is the authors’ apparent desire to teach the girls to insulate themselves from dirt and extreme weather within their homes while also acknowledging that the home could not be completely quarantined. They stated, “The air circulation should be good and small windows and transom windows should be

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

able to freely open.”¹⁴⁷ The authors further expounded upon their views on ventilation in a section titled “Cautions After Becoming Residents.” They wrote,

Attend to lighting and ventilation in the indoor rooms, and on days when the wind isn’t blowing, leave the window open and let in plenty of sunlight and fresh air. In the wintertime, use the window’s weather strip only on the north and east side of the house. When you are in a confined room, harmful gasses will accumulate because of breathing. Therefore, ventilation must be carried out continuously. Sometimes open a small window or transom.¹⁴⁸

Women had the responsibility of protecting the home from the external environment, but the authors also knew the girls would be exposed to the outside because they could not healthfully stay indoors forever. The texts’ creators sought to limit Japanese people’s exposure to some of Manchuria’s winds – for example, they did not want Japanese families to come into much contact with northeast winds during the winter – but they encouraged the girls to ventilate rooms continuously. The future homemakers who read this text received inherently contradictory messages about their job of guarding the home in this section. If they did not maintain a hygienic atmosphere by preventing the winter winds from penetrating the home, they could make their family members ill. However, they also could not let “harmful gasses” accumulate, so they were required to maintain a good level of ventilation within the home. Though these messages were inconsistent, they demonstrate that the authors believed women were primarily responsible for the health of their kin, and by extension, the health of the Japanese citizenry in Manchuria.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 174.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Colonial Hygiene in the Kitchen

The section addressing the kitchen in the 1932 text exposes the tension between the authors' convictions that the Manchurian environment was unhygienic and not having enough exposure to outside air was unhealthful. Unlike the 1927 edition of the text, this text included illustrations of a modern kitchen and more detailed instructions on how to care for this space. These illustrations and many of the instructions echoed textbooks from mainland Japan. For example, the authors seem to have believed, as Jordan Sand noted about mainland Japanese elites, that the kitchen represented the most dangerous place in the household because it was "an orifice exposing the bounded family space to the world outside."¹⁴⁹ Because food and waste entered and left through the kitchen, often through a small delivery door, the kitchen had a greater amount of contact with the outside world than some parts of the house. Furthermore, the authors knew gas and coal (essential articles in a modern kitchen) could produce fumes, so they encouraged the pupils to ensure the kitchen had good windows for ventilation.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the need to take food in and out of the kitchen and the necessity of providing adequate ventilation to prevent the buildup of gas and coal fumes left the kitchen more vulnerable to the diseased environment than some areas.

The authors reflected these concerns by emphasizing the importance of a hygienic, properly equipped kitchen. The 1927 text stressed to readers that since food preparation took place in the kitchen, hygiene should be a matter of "utmost importance." In order to encourage the schoolgirls to promote health in the kitchen, the authors told their readers

¹⁴⁹ Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 68.

¹⁵⁰ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual [1932]," 181.

to ensure the suitability of the sunlight's entry as well as the airflow. They added cleaning and drainage must be convenient, [the facilities] kept clean, and both windows and cupboards should have an insect-repelling net.¹⁵¹ The authors also gave detailed instructions on how a kitchen should be set up and provided an illustration for additional clarity (Figure 3.2).¹⁵²

Their instructions included details regarding the materials and room plans one should use to build the ideal, modern kitchen. “When possible, a window providing light and ventilation should be created in the kitchen in the east or southeast position of the house,” they wrote. They added that in order to maintain cleanliness and make the kitchen fire- and water-proof, “the wainscoting, sink, cooking area, gas stove, etcetera



Figure 3.2: The ideal kitchen. This illustration was included in the 1932 version of the text. “*Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual: Volume I*,” 179.

¹⁵¹ “Manchurian Elementary School Household Matters [1927],” 136.

¹⁵² Ibid.

should be composed of tile or concrete, and the floor should be made of planks.”¹⁵³ Since these materials could be easily cleaned, they could make the housewife’s job of creating and maintaining a sanitized space easier.

As the image demonstrates, a modern kitchen contained a single-top gas burner and various other instruments, including a food scale and clock, that helped women scientifically manage their kitchens. The text’s authors wrote that built-in appliances such as the countertop, gas stove, and sink should be of uniform height and the water supply and drainage needed to be convenient. They also noted the kitchen flooring should be the same height as the surrounding hallways and rooms to reduce leg fatigue.¹⁵⁴ The authors emphasized the importance of standardization and efficiency in this section. They stressed that through the proper use of modern architecture, women could perform their work more quickly. The writers implied that with standardization and efficiency, women could perform their household duties better, and thus maintain a sanitary kitchen sheltered from Manchuria’s threatening environment.

The emphasis on efficiency was also common in textbooks for girls and women in mainland Japan. According to Sand, *Principles of Scientific Management*, Frederick Taylor’s theory of management that emphasized labor productivity and economic efficiency, was translated into Japanese in the mid-1910s. Taylorism then entered public rhetoric in Japan and influenced the works of domestic reformers.¹⁵⁵ The reformers strove to make the home function more efficiently as a unit; therefore, the housewife became an object of reform since she spent the most time within this space. Textbooks and journal

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Sand, *House and Home*, 84.

articles taught her to manage her household with scientific methods, which included managing her time and labor wisely so she could keep a meticulously clean home. In Manchuria, these scientific management techniques and the rhetoric of hygiene they contained undoubtedly became more important as women battled against their unhygienic surroundings. The texts' particular stress on hygiene and efficiency in the kitchen also reveals the authors may have been concerned with Manchurian food. They sought to teach schoolgirls to manage the food preparation area particularly well so Japanese bodies would not become polluted.

Colonial Hygiene and the Scientifically Managed Household

The adopted Taylorist rhetoric of efficiency permeated the *Household Matters* texts, and not just in regard to the kitchen. While writing about a woman's place as the moral exemplar of the home, the authors added, "Furthermore, once she is settled down, [she must think about] maximizing the use of the house in regard to the following three aspects: health, economy, and hobbies." The text writers indicated maximizing the household's use would be easier if in the future the girls found a residence with a quiet environment where the "husband's commute to work and the children's school commute is convenient."¹⁵⁶ If family members could always be close to the home, whether they attended school or went to work, they could more efficiently perform their duties outside and inside the household and be closer to the housewife's protective influence. According to the authors' rhetoric, the family's exposure to the external world, however brief, put them at risk for contamination and disease. It also gave these family members more

¹⁵⁶ "Manchurian Household Matters Learning Manual [1932]," 174.

opportunities to mingle with other ethnic groups, which could risk their identities as Japanese colonists. The texts emphasized that the family could only be safe in the cloistered, hygienic, and thoroughly Japanese atmosphere of the home. This logic in effect served to ghettoize the Japanese community.

The authors also used scientific management theory to stress the importance of economy and maximizing the use of each room. They wrote that when the schoolgirls looked for their future abode, “the number of rooms [in this residence] and their width should depend on the consideration for the number of family members as well as what is most economical.” After the girls decided upon a place of residence, the text writers offered the following advice: “ Stop using rooms for receiving visitors; use them for family-oriented purposes. The inside and outside of the house should always be clean, and make the garden a good place to exercise for one’s health.” They also recommended the girls ensure the devices they placed within the household were economical. They wrote, “When the temperature is below ten degrees Celsius, heating is necessary. While selecting an appropriate heater, consider the house structure and economy. The heater should possess the following component: it must warm the air in the room evenly.”¹⁵⁷

The authors wanted the schoolgirls to learn to create economically managed, family-oriented areas with appliances that would function efficiently both within and outside of the home. They envisioned that if a woman could perform her duties of running an economical, healthy, and hygienic household, the home could function efficiently.

Women could maintain the authors’ idea of a Japanese household by using the scientific management methods contained in the texts to create civilized homes that the colonists

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

presumably believed were different and better than other types of homes in Manchuria.

Thus, the text writers taught Japanese schoolgirls to create a household that would run as well as a machine. The girls learned to use their bourgeois education regarding scientific household management to guard the civilized, superior space of the Japanese colonists' home against the savage Manchurian environment. The girls learned their identities as Japanese housewives depended upon their ability to guard Japanese settlers from the unhygienic outside world. They learned to protect their vulnerable kin from Manchuria through the texts' detailed instructions on topics such as architecture, house-hunting, and cautions about the changing seasons. Women who learned the techniques for guarding their families in the texts also implicitly absorbed lessons about Japanese superiority. Schoolgirls became future transmitters of empire by learning, internalizing, and ideally passing on these lessons to their kin.

Gender, Class, and Moral Decline in Manchuria

Since many Japanese women failed to fulfill the ideals of the text, sections repeatedly extolling women's vital position in the home could be read as expressions of the colonizers' anxieties. If women worked outside the home, they risked greater exposure to foreign pathogens. However, educators in Manchuria revealed that mental contamination in Japan's colonies presented an even greater threat for Japanese girls. The principal of the higher girls' school in Dairen expressed this concern in a 1916 article in the journal *Chōsen oyobi Manshū*. He wrote,

In order to prevent the loss of Japanese womanly virtue and beauty and the slide into a materially deprived state of civilization that appears gradually among

Japanese girls who have lived for long years in the colonies, I believe that in the treatments of this disease, it is even more important to have conservative training and strict institutions.¹⁵⁸

The discourse centering on women's education in colonial Manchuria evoked concerns about Japanese women losing their "Japanese womanly virtue" and regressing to a "materially deprived state of civilization." Thus, educators had a great stake in ensuring their students learned how to properly perform their roles. The principal's rhetoric, which pathologized the atmosphere of Manchuria, indicated "conservative training and strict institutions" signified the only cure to female colonizers' decline. The textbook writers' thorough instructions, which sought to keep Japanese woman in the domestic space and occupied with the minute details of caring for their homes throughout the day, could thus be read as anxious directives to prevent colonial degeneracy. If women spent their days fighting germs within the confines of the Japanese home, they could also stave off moral diseases. After all, pure bodies meant pure minds.

Educators also may have experienced anxieties about colonial degeneracy because of Manchuria's high population of poor Japanese women working in the flesh trades. In fact, demographic and anecdotal evidence shows Japanese prostitutes often outnumbered Japanese men during Japan's early occupation of Manchuria. One writer noted that soon after the Russo-Japanese War, there was a Japanese woman attached to every lodging room. The journal *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* included demographic evidence that indicated the proportion of Japanese women to men increased in Harbin from 1907 to

¹⁵⁸ Barbara Brooks, "Reading the Japanese Colonial Archive: Gender and Bourgeois Civility in Korea Before 1932," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 311.

1914. By 1914, there were 897 to 578 men in the city.¹⁵⁹ The reporters of the articles about prostitutes in Manchuria did not condemn Japanese women for their line of work. Some wrote profiles showing interest and sentimentality about women of these trades (such as the profile about a Japanese dancer in Dairen who moved to Shanghai).¹⁶⁰ Other *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* reporters even heroified Japanese prostitutes, calling them *joshigun* (“female warriors”) and praising the women for spreading Japanese culture and infiltrating the homes of powerful Chinese.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the textbooks remain silent about women in the water trades, possibly indicating that other Japanese feared the great number of low class, unrespectable women in Manchuria who frequently mingled with unhygienic bodies would negatively impact Japanese prestige.¹⁶² Read in conjunction with the comment from the Manchurian school principal, the textbook writers may have hidden their anxieties about the prominent presence of poor, unrespectable Japanese women who lived in a “materially deprived state of civilization” in the colonies by portraying the Japanese home as bourgeois and hygienic.

However, even lower class Japanese women living in materially privileged worlds were not safe from condemnation in colonial discourse. Some writers of *Chōsen oyobi*

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 301.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 303.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 301-303. In fact, an article written after the Manchurian Incident claimed Japanese women helped Japan successfully occupy the region because many Chinese warlords' weakness was their inclination for Japanese concubines.

¹⁶² Japanese officials imposed regulations in order to protect the male Japanese clients from prostitutes, who were perceived as the source of venereal disease. From September 1906 onward, the Japanese consulate in each major city in Manchuria supervised brothels (and regularly inspected prostitutes for evidence of VD). By 1911, the Japanese civil administration bureau in Dairen had constructed a red-light district and prohibited prostitution outside of this area, presumably intent to confine these women to an area they could easily survey and monitor. In 1918, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs established further regulations that prohibited Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria from servicing non-Japanese men. This indicates officials were concerned about the “diseased” Chinese men having access even to lower class Japanese women, or for Chinese and Japanese men to share women.

Manshū, for example, provided critical images of poor Japanese women in Manchuria who temporarily warmed the beds of married Japanese bureaucrats and businessmen. Brooks states that in the 1910s, reporters from Seoul to Dairen wrote serious and satirical pieces about poor Japanese women who started out as maids in colonial households but later seduced their masters, seeking to become imitation wives.¹⁶³ The writers depicted the Japanese mistresses as materialistic, shallow, and obsessed with colonial luxuries. One author even blamed these extravagant “wives” in Seoul for negatively influencing other *naichi* women.¹⁶⁴ The textbooks’ repeated emphasis on Japanese virtue and economy could thus be read as a reaction to fears about colonial women becoming shallow, greedy and morally compromised. Furthermore, the various and often conflicting images of impoverished women demonstrate that class was reified and amplified in colonial discourse. Authors praised Japanese prostitutes for sacrificing themselves while spreading Japanese culture on the frozen frontier lands, but did not extend their commendations to prostitutes and other lower class Japanese women living closer to the hygienic enclaves in colonial cities. Discourse centering on colonial cities was filled with tensions and contradiction, admonishing the supposedly wealth-loving, unvirtuous mistresses of upper class Japanese sojourners while warning that Japanese girls needed conservative educations to avoid material deprivation. This demonstrates that lower class Japanese women in cities, who the textbooks steadfastly ignore, were

¹⁶³ The textbooks also fail to mention maids (or any type of servant), despite the fact that these individuals formed an integral part of the households of upper class colonial residents. Many elite families in Dairen employed working-class Japanese to perform domestic chores. These working-class Japanese, who came to Manchuria in order to receive better pay and a higher social status than in the *gaichi*, often served as the upper-class families’ only direct connection to the lower classes. See Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo* (Vancouver; Toronto, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 178.

¹⁶⁴ Brooks, “Reading the Japanese Colonial Archive,” 306-307. These Japanese mistresses served as a parallel to the mainland’s later focus on “modern girls.”

perceived as Other. Only women who could afford homes with the essential components for hygienic modernity while acting in a manner perceived as traditional and upright could unquestionably be counted amongst the true Japanese.

Conclusion

Textbook manuals demonstrate upper and middle class Japanese women living in the far-flung empire held a vital job. They had the traditional (Neo-Confucian) responsibility to ensure their children learned proper moral principles and rituals. Their education also required future Japanese wives and mothers to embrace certain aspects of modernity, particularly modern hygienic regimens. Thus, the Japanese *shufu* in Manchuria did not function solely as a repository of tradition; they also functioned in rhetoric as unquestionably modern. This seemingly contradictory construct of Japanese womanhood in Manchuria actually worked to reinforce colonial justifications. If a woman did choose only to work in the domestic sphere, she could impart Japanese values on her kin to purify their minds while using efficient, scientific techniques to purify her home. Through these actions, women could alleviate the fear of colonial degeneracy by discouraging contact between the Japanese and the “diseased” Manchurian land and people while justifying Japan’s civilizing presence in the region. However, evidence of the great number of lower class Japanese women in Manchuria (including prostitutes as well as women in more respectable positions) indicates this vision of Japanese modern womanhood was primarily fictive. Japanese leaders sought to educate, regulate, and monitor the bodies of Japanese women living in this environment, but anxious rhetoric

reveals they never completely succeeded. The ideal Japanese woman constructed in these texts presumably served as a comforting fiction to those concerned with controlling and shaping the land, environment, and people under their purview.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In 1928, an idealistic group of young Japanese individuals formed the Youth Association of Manchuria. Historians cite the association as the source of the idea of “the harmony of the five races.”¹⁶⁵ Against the rising tide of Chinese nationalism in the region, Japanese youth advocated for a peaceful relationship between the Chinese and Japanese in Manchuria, hoping the Japanese, Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, and Koreans could work together to uplift the region’s culture and economy.¹⁶⁶ This slogan became particularly prominent after the Japanese military seized control of Manchuria and instituted the puppet state of Manchukuo. Although the Japanese government encouraged poor farmers to settle in Manchuria, the Chinese immigrants still far outnumbered the Japanese.¹⁶⁷ The leaders of Japanese communities in Manchuria clustered in ethnic enclaves and clung to rhetoric that encouraged harmony between the races, understanding that the colonial venture faced grave dangers if the Japanese could not legitimize their presence.

¹⁶⁵ Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classifications: The ‘Japanese’ in ‘Manchuria,’” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 258.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ By one estimate, 96 percent of the Manchurian population consisted of Han Chinese in 1931. Hall, “Constructing a ‘Manchurian’ Identity,” 70

However, harmony among the races did not mean equality. The Japanese needed to prove their cultural superiority in order to warrant their hegemonic presence in the region. This became especially important as a greater number of lower class Japanese emigrated to Manchuria during the 1930s and 1940s. As Louise Young argues, uprooting the impoverished farming class and resettling them as part of the colonizer group in Manchuria created contradictions.¹⁶⁸ For example, some promoters of Japanese immigration policies resisted the idea of discarding Japan's agrarian poor in Manchuria. They feared sending the "inferior elements" of Japanese society, namely the unemployed and poor, would jeopardize Japan's mission to control and civilize the Chinese.¹⁶⁹ In the absence of obvious racial difference, the line between the Chinese and Japanese could become particularly hazy, especially if the poor Japanese colonists shared more similarities with the migrant Chinese workers than the wealthy, urban Japanese elite.

To mitigate the contradictions in the relationship between the Japanese poor and the vast Chinese population in Manchuria, Japanese leaders strove to create differences between the colonizer and colonized by racializing the Chinese as primitive and dirty. Rhetoric concerning racial difference and destiny permeated Manchurian society from the 1930s until Japan's influence in the region ended. Proponents of empire in China developed a new logic for imperial expansion during this time, arguing that the Japanese race had a mandate to spread across the continent and lead inferior races to the light of civilization. In so doing, these proponents began to use the scientific language of race to

¹⁶⁸ Louise Young, "Rethinking Race for Manchukuo" in *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Frank Dikotter (London: Hurst and Company, 1997), 175.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 169.

denote cultural superiority.¹⁷⁰

The colonial discourse regarding Manchuria's climate foreshadowed the idea of a racial mission cast in terms of biological superiority. Textbooks, promotional material, and images painted the environment as unhygienic and dangerous and began tying the Chinese laborers to this environment. The planners and leaders of modern, hygienic Manchurian cities also contributed to racialization by creating semipermeable barriers throughout urban spaces. They could not isolate themselves completely from the Chinese since the Japanese ostensibly entered the region to uplift their Asian brothers, but they could sequester Japanese residential areas in separate neighborhoods. The administrators sought to create sanitary islands primarily reserved for the elite Japanese, who lived in fear of the waves of the unhygienic bodies encircling them.

Fear of encroaching disease was particularly present in the textbooks for Japanese schoolgirls. The writers of the books instructed their audience to engage in a plethora of tasks designed to keep Japanese bodies and minds pure, indicating that Japanese bodies were permeable to the primitive, diseased environment surrounding the modern Japanese home. Through instructions and images that sought to inculcate schoolgirls with the desire to follow a daily rhythm of activities designed to sanitize the Japanese home and mind, the writers connected hygiene with the very essence of Japanese identity. Therefore, these textbooks indicated that hygiene served as one of the primary markers of difference between the Japanese and the colonized, and that the ideal Japanese woman, as the primary practitioner of imperial hygiene, protected the home.

However, demographic information and memoirs show that few women

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 168.

subscribed to the vision of hygienic domesticity promulgated in the textbooks. Although Japanese women in Manchuria were in a position of subordination politically and socially within the dominant ruling group, this evidence indicates middle and upper class women exerted their agency by working outside the home. Lower class women, who faced additional constraints since working was an economic necessity, also had a certain degree of agency. The real lives of these women suggest officials' efforts to exert their authority over women's bodies were never fully successful. The Japanese women who made Manchuria home in spite of fears of contagion did not completely subscribe to the state's ideals, indicating that Japanese leaders constructed fictional worlds in their writings in a desperate attempt to mollify their fears of losing control in the colonies.

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